

# The American Historical Review

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J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

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The

# American Historical Review

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STANDING ARMY IN PRUSSIA<sup>1</sup>

NO factor has been more fateful, both for good and evil, in the history of modern Germany, than the Prussian army. Its development runs parallel, step by step, with the development of the Prussian state, of which it is both a cause and a result. In its history there are two decisive epochs. The first is the establishment and maintenance by the Great Elector of a *miles perpetuus*, or "standing army". This was a permanent, active field army kept on foot in time of peace as well as war, and was composed of well-disciplined and well-trained professional, paid soldiers in the direct service and control of the sovereign. Being an army of paid professionals, as distinct from a civilian militia, it was necessarily limited in numbers by the revenues available for its support, and was in fact relatively small in comparison with the total population—a great contrast to modern armies based on the principle of universal military service. It may be compared in many respects with the English army of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or with the regular army of the United States. It was the outgrowth of the danger threatening Prussia from the aggressive plans of Charles Gustavus of Sweden during the first Northern War.

The second decisive epoch was the great liberalizing and nationalizing reform movement of Stein and Scharnhorst at the opening of the nineteenth century, which resulted in the establishment of a national Prussian army based on the principle of universal military service. It was the outgrowth of Napoleon's conquest of Prussia and of his boomerang-like decree which attempted to limit the Prussian army to 42,000 men. It needs no discussion here, not only because of the admirable account of it which Professor Ford gave

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 29, 1916.

to the Association at Chicago two years ago,<sup>2</sup> but also because its main features have become familiar through their adoption by the other great countries of Europe.

It is of the first of these epochs, the establishment of the standing army in the seventeenth century, that I wish to speak.<sup>3</sup>

On that cold December morning at Königsberg in 1640 what was the situation which faced the inexperienced youth of twenty whom the world was to know as the Great Elector of Brandenburg, as he stood alone beside his father's coffin? By the death of feeble old George William, young Frederick William inherited in North Germany three groups of widely separated territories. In the centre, mainly between the Elbe and the Oder, was the Electorate of Bran-

<sup>2</sup> "Boyen's Military Law", *American Historical Review*, XX. 528-538 (April, 1915).

<sup>3</sup> In the pages which follow I have drawn my material chiefly from the three great collections of printed sources which deal with the Great Elector's foreign and domestic policy. Chr. Otto Mylius, *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum* (Berlin and Halle, 1736 ff., 6 vols. in folio), gives most of the edicts organizing the army and imposing the taxes by which it was largely supported. The *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1864-1913, 21 vols.) may be depended upon for the details of foreign policy, for negotiations for military subsidies, and for the constitutional conflict with the Estates; vol. V. dealing with the Estates of Cleves-Mark, vol. X. with those of Brandenburg, and vols. XV.-XVI. with those of East Prussia. The *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (ed. O. Meinardus, Leipzig, 1889-1907, 5 vols.; printed in *Publ. aus dem Kgl. Preuss. Staatsarchiven*, vols. XLI., LIV., LV., LXVI, LXXX.) lays bare the intimate confidential Privy Council meetings, where reports from officials were read and policies formed; these Privy Council records have been published only for the period 1640-1660.

Among the secondary works, aside from the well-known general histories of Prussia by Droysen and by Prutz, and the good biographies of the Great Elector by Orlich, Philippson, and Waddington, the following studies throw much light on the beginnings of the standing army: F. von Schrötter, *Die Brandenburg-Preussische Heeresverfassung unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Leipzig, 1892, in Schmoller's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*), on the organization of the army; G. A. von Mülverstedt, *Die Brandenburgische Kriegsmacht unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Magdeburg, 1888), on the origin and history of individual regiments. C. Jany, *Die Anfänge der Alten Armee, und Die Alte Armee, 1655-1740* (Berlin, 1901-1905; in *Urkundliche Beiträge und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Preussischen Heeres*, Heft I, VII.), based on figures returned to the War Department, are valuable for their details as to the numbers of the army. F. Wolters, *Die Zentralverwaltung des Heeres und der Steuern* (Munich and Leipzig, 1915), is a good account of the administrative machinery gradually formed to provide financial support for the army. See also F. Hirsch, "Die Armee des Grossen Kurfürsten und ihre Unterhaltung, 1660-1666", in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LIII. 229-275 (1885); and K. Breysig, "Der Brand. Staatshaushalt in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhundert", in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch*, XVI. 449-526 (1892), for other financial details.



denburg with an area and population, at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, roughly equal to that of the present state of Vermont—approximately 10,000 square miles, with a population of 350,000. But by 1640 rather more than half the people had disappeared through emigration, starvation, suicide, murder, or other violent death due to the terrible effects of the war.<sup>4</sup> To the east, along the bleak shores of the Baltic lay the slightly smaller duchy of East Prussia; and in the west, in the pleasant valley of the Rhine, the very much smaller Cleves-Mark territories.

Each of these three territories had been overrun and desolated during the Thirty Years' War by a frightfulness beyond description. Each of them in 1640 was in part still occupied and oppressed by foreign military forces which steadily refused to withdraw—the Swedes were encamped in northern Brandenburg, the Poles had seized part of East Prussia, and the Dutch had occupied fortresses in Cleves. But the foreign foe was not the only difficulty with which this youth of twenty had to contend. In each of these three territories the real political power was in the hands not of the ruler, but of the local Estates. These were composed of the privileged feudal nobility and the selfish burgher aristocracy. In each territory these Estates thought only of their own local interests and class privileges. They refused to raise any taxes except such as would be spent for local purposes under their own local control. They refused to raise troops for any purposes except local defense. They refused to recognize as officials of the Elector all persons who did not belong to the native-born of the territory; that is, the Estates of East Prussia declined to recognize any official whom the Elector might wish to appoint from Brandenburg or Cleves, and the Estates of Cleves reciprocated by refusing to tolerate any official who had been so unfortunate as to have been born anywhere else in the world except in Cleves.<sup>5</sup> In short the Estates of each of the Great Elector's three territories regarded his other lands as foreign soil, in whose welfare and defense they themselves had no particular interest or responsibility. Yet each territory was so isolated geographically and so surrounded by grasping neighbors that it could not defend its own

<sup>4</sup> Meinardus (*Prot. u. Rel.*, II. cxx-cxlii) gives valuable statistics from which he concludes that nearly three-fourths of the population had been exterminated. But more recent detailed studies indicate that the depopulation of Brandenburg was nearer three-fifths than three-fourths. Cf. F. Kaphahn, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Folgen des 30 Jährigen Krieges für die Altmark* (Gotha, 1911).

<sup>5</sup> For vociferous denunciations of the Elector's attempts to override this "right of the native-born" (*Indigenatsrecht*) see *Urk. u. Act.*, V. 144, 315; XV. 243, 402.

independence unaided. It was the Great Elector's most important accomplishment that he created in each of these territories a common sense of responsibility and a common habit of action under his own unifying influence. The bundle of isolated territories which he inherited from his father he welded together into a strong, centralized, and absolutistic state. And one of the chief forces by which this welding process was accomplished was the new standing army.

The military situation in the Electorate of Brandenburg was one of the first questions with which the Great Elector had to deal. Shortly before his accession his father's minister, Schwarzenberg, had made a desperate effort to recruit 25,000 mercenaries in the name of the Emperor and the Elector, with which to drive out the Swedes. But the force which Schwarzenberg actually got together numbered scarcely 5000, and represented the worst scum of the earth. They were recruited under the old regimental mercenary system, in which the colonel received a lump sum for raising and equipping a regiment, which he regarded as his own private property. Naturally it was to the colonel's interest to keep as few soldiers as possible actually on foot, because he would otherwise be at the expense of feeding and paying them. Only when they were mustered for review by the prince who was paying for them would the colonel make a frantic attempt to show a full regiment. Usually he did so only by resorting to devious frauds, such as making the same soldier pass in review several times, borrowing soldiers temporarily from brother colonels, or enrolling ruffians and hangers-on hastily gathered at the moment. For instance, in this army of Schwarzenberg's, Colonel Klitzing had received 40,000 Thalers for supposedly 2200 soldiers; he had actually on foot less than a hundred. Colonel Kehrberg received pay for a regiment of 1200, but had only eighty. And so it went. Moreover, this pitiful little army of Schwarzenberg's was too small to expel the Swedes and too defiant and too disorderly to be of any real benefit to the Elector. One of the colonels allowed his soldiers so to riot before Schwarzenberg's house in Berlin, demanding more pay, that the terrified man was literally frightened to death. Another flatly refused to obey the Great Elector's orders. A third browbeat the pastor and citizens of Spandau and defiantly threatened to blow up the fortress and set fire to the town which he was paid to protect. He was as tyrannical over his soldiers as over the cowering civil population. For small offenses he had beaten them, branded them, sliced off their ears and noses, and compelled them to endure the torture of running the gauntlet. The population of Brandenburg complained bitterly that

the soldier within the gates was far more terrible than the Swede without. They begged the Elector to disband the unruly *soldateska*.<sup>6</sup> And the Elector himself summed up the situation in April, 1641, by writing:

We find that our military forces have cost the country a great deal and done much wanton damage. The enemy could not have done worse. We do not see that we have had, or are likely to have, the least benefit from their services. Therefore we have resolved to keep only what is necessary as a garrison for our fortresses.

He therefore speedily made a truce with the Swedes, and thereupon began the disbandment of this old, disorderly army of regimental mercenaries which he had inherited. By a reduction of the infantry from thirty-nine to sixteen companies it was possible to dismiss a great many officers, who were the most insolent, the most hated, and the most expensive part of the army. From the men in the ranks were dropped the undesirable and the unfit. Conrad von Burgsdorf, for instance, purged his regiment of thirty-three native-born Swedes, thirty-two Scottish, Irish, and Polish adventurers, and thirty men "crooked, lame and useless".<sup>7</sup>

Those who were retained in service numbered scarcely enough to man the garrisons, but they formed a tiny nucleus for a new and relatively well-disciplined army. It was composed so far as possible of the Great Elector's own subjects, so that it might have a little feeling that it was fighting for the defense of home and country. It was sufficiently well paid so that it did not have to resort to the plunder and oppression of the people whom it was supposed to defend. Though it had to protect the scattered fortresses in all the Elector's lands it numbered less than 3000 men for several years, because none of the Estates would consent to raise money for the support of any larger force, and the Elector had as yet almost no other revenues of his own available for military purposes. In the last years of the Thirty Years' War, to be sure, he managed to increase his army to nearly 8000 men. It was a decisive factor in winning for him respectful consideration in the negotiations leading up to the peace of Westphalia, and in assisting him to make good his claims to the new territories of East Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden.

This little force of 8000 men, which was the outgrowth of the last years of the Thirty Years' War, has been spoken of by nearly all writers on Prussian history as the beginning of the standing

<sup>6</sup> *Urk. u. Act.*, I. 388 ff., 122-454; X. 59-92; *Prot. u. Rel.*, I. 79, 159-237.

<sup>7</sup> *Prot. u. Rel.*, I. 342.

army. But a closer examination of the situation after the peace of Westphalia does not support this view. After the provisions of the great peace had been carried out in 1650, and after the failure of the Great Elector's ill-starred attack on the Duke of Neuburg in 1651, commonly known as the "cow war at Düsseldorf", he was again forced to follow the example of all his predecessors and most of his contemporaries in disbanding his army as soon as the war was over. He was forced to do so both by the insistence of his Estates and more especially by his lack of any resources of his own with which to support any considerable body of troops. He had not yet created a military revenue which would allow him to keep on foot in time of peace troops which had been raised in time of war. All that he could afford to retain, aside from his modest military escort of 63 horse guards and 202 life guards, were the troops absolutely necessary to garrison the fortresses—790 men in the East Prussian seaports of Pillau and Memel, 596 in Colberg in Pomerania, 1352 in the Brandenburg strongholds, and small bodies of soldiers in the fortresses of the other provinces. Altogether the total garrison forces amounted to a Lilliputian army of just 3907 men.<sup>8</sup> This handful of men could not have been spared from the fortresses in case of war. It was in no true sense a standing army, *i. e.*, a permanent active field army, with an assured means of support, kept on foot in times of peace as well as of war. The true beginnings of the Prussian standing army are to be found, not in the Thirty Years' War, but half a dozen years later in connection with the Northern War, 1655–1660.

There is another mistake, also, which is common to most Prussian writers, who wish to attribute to the Great Elector a greater vision of the future than he actually enjoyed. It is the mistake of saying that he deliberately planned to create a standing army in the interests of centralization of power and absolutism. He did not do so. His first measures, when the Northern War became imminent, show that he did not intend to recruit a permanent army, but only the customary temporary force to be kept on foot during the continuance of danger.<sup>9</sup> In the matter of the standing army, as in so many other matters, he showed himself, like Bismarck, to be a successful opportunist. He did not create a situation; but when circumstances presented a situation which to ordinary minds contained nothing but misfortune and evil, the Great Elector saw and seized an opportunity to be turned to his advantage. The Northern War

<sup>8</sup> Jany, I. 84–114.

<sup>9</sup> Orders for a provisional "militia in waiting", October 20, 1654. *Prot. u. Rel.*, IV. 594–599.



was such an opportunity. Through its unavoidable necessities he created in time of war a standing army which he and his successors never wholly disbanded in time of peace.

On a day in late summer in 1654 a sly Swedish envoy, Count Schlippenbach, appeared in Berlin with the ostensible purpose of notifying the Great Elector of Queen Christina's abdication, and of the accession of Charles Gustavus. He made liberal profession in public of the new Swedish king's friendly intentions toward the Empire. In private, however, he let drop the ominous warning that Sweden might be compelled by necessity to enter upon a new war against Poland. He hinted at the desirability of an alliance between Sweden and Brandenburg. He even suggested as the basis of such an alliance that the Great Elector should hand over to the Swedes the Prussian ports of Pillau and Memel, and receive in exchange wide lands to be conquered from the unsuspecting Poles. In saying this the unwary envoy let the cat out of the bag.<sup>10</sup> Frederick William instantly saw the direction in which the greedy Swedish eyes were turned. Pillau and Memel were his two strongest fortresses and, next to Königsberg, the two most active trading ports in all East Prussia. They were two of the brightest jewels among his possessions. Under no conditions, he replied, could he entrust them into the hands of the Swedes. With characteristic energy and foresight he at once despatched General Sparr to East Prussia to strengthen the fortifications, and began to take steps that he might not be caught unprepared between the Swedish and Polish bel-ligerents.<sup>11</sup>

At this critical moment of an impending war between his two Swedish and Polish neighbors, the Great Elector had for the defense of his neutrality and his lands nothing but the handful of garrison troops, scattered, as we have seen, among his isolated fortresses. How should he form an army to meet the threatened danger? He considered various possibilities. In the first place he might in theory call upon all his subjects to stand forth as a militia to defend the land in time of danger. But in practice this *Landfolge*, or general militia levy, had become obsolete and impracticable even before the Thirty Years' War. The peasants were not provided with any sort

<sup>10</sup> Schlippenbach visited Berlin twice, the first time publicly, in August or September, 1654 (*Urk. u. Act.*, VI. 615-616), the second time incognito, in July, 1655 (*ibid.*, VII. 387-395). Most writers, following Pufendorf, have confused these visits.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 326-330, 337-359. "If his Electoral Highness is armed, the desire to breakfast upon him will pass", remarked his leading minister, Waldeck, *ibid.*, p. 327.

of satisfactory arms; they knew little of fighting or discipline; and they could not be well spared from tilling the land. After the terrible ruin of the Thirty Years' War, when the tillers of the soil had disappeared in such great numbers and it was of first importance to restore some prosperity to agriculture, it would have been particularly unwise to call the peasants from the fields to undergo the burden of military service.

There was also in theory the medieval feudal service which the Elector might demand of his vassals. But this feudal force likewise had fallen into utter decay.<sup>12</sup> It would have been too grotesque in the seventeenth century. The Elector did not forget, however, that theoretically feudal service was still owing to him, and he several times exacted a money payment in lieu of it, and then used the money in payment of his regular standing army.<sup>13</sup>

In his need for troops, as the Northern War grew more threatening, he finally decided to turn to a committee of the Brandenburg Estates and ask for a grant of money sufficient to recruit, equip, and maintain 3000 new troops. To strengthen his request he called attention to a recent decree of the Imperial Diet, which allowed any prince to proceed by military execution against subjects who refused to contribute to the defense of the Empire. Though his language was conciliatory, it was firm, and left no doubt that he intended to act on the principle, "that the military force of a country must be organized in accordance with the danger and necessity".<sup>14</sup> In other words, necessity knows no law, *Not kennt kein gebot*, and he himself of course was to be the judge of the necessity. The Estates shrewdly pointed out, what appears to be the fact, that the Imperial Decree cited did not technically apply in this case, for it was East Prussia, not Brandenburg, which was in danger from the Northern War, and East Prussia, strictly speaking, was not a part of the Empire. Moreover, the Brandenburg Estates took the attitude that they were under no obligation to defend East Prussia. Let East Prussia look after its own safety. However, after delay and haggling, they consented to provide small sums for raising a part of the foot-soldiers that the Elector requested.<sup>15</sup> In July the advancing tide of war

<sup>12</sup> Cf. C. Jany, "Lehndienst und Landfolge unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten", in *Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Geschichte*, VIII. 419-467 (1895).

<sup>13</sup> Resolution of December 18, 1656, *Urk. u. Act.*, V. 227; edict of October 2, 1663, Mylius, III. ii, no. 36.

<sup>14</sup> "Doch müsste die Kriegsverfassung eines Landes nach der Gefahr und Nothwendigkeit eingerichtet werden." Frederick William to the Brandenburg Estates, December 23, 1654, *Urk. u. Act.*, X. 313.

<sup>15</sup> Recess of March 3, 1655. *Ibid.*, X. 315.

and "necessity" compelled him to request urgently the equipment of 3000 additional men. In words which foreshadowed his future attitude he declared to them on July 12, 1655:

The military preparations of all our neighbors compel us to follow their example. And since this army is for the benefit not simply of one, but of all my lands, I deem it proper that the cost and maintenance of the troops must be borne by all my lands, and that the soldiery shall be assigned amongst them proportionally.<sup>16</sup>

But this time the Estates refused, characteristically preferring "to trust in God and wait patiently upon events". The Elector therefore proceeded to the extreme step of collecting a land tax of 180,000 Thaler by military execution. This action, taken without the consent of the Estates, was, as the nobility at once complained,

contrary to ancient custom, contrary to the constitutional laws, contrary to the fixed financial relations between the nobility and the towns, and contrary to the recent promises of the Elector. It [was] taking without consent and by force a greater and more unbearable amount in four months than even an irate enemy had ever demanded in a whole year.

In the recriminations which followed, it became clear that what troubled the nobles most was that they thought they were having to pay a little larger proportion of the tax than the towns. They complained that the Elector's officials did not assess the tax in the same ratio between nobility and towns as had been formerly agreed upon. In their selfishness they so magnified this picayune point that they lost sight of the really great and important danger that they were on the verge of losing altogether their constitutional right to grant taxes.<sup>17</sup>

It was with these means that the Great Elector was in part able to raise the army with which he won a year later his first great field victory, the three-days' battle of Warsaw (July 28-30, 1656). In this battle, for the first time, troops from Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves-Mark fought side by side under a single flag and a single leader for a single, common purpose—the strengthening of the dynastic power of the Hohenzollern family. This new army of nearly 10,000, which strikingly embodied the new Brandenburg-Prussian state, had borne gloriously its first baptism of fire.

During the remaining years of the Northern War, Brandenburg was forced to contribute on an average nearly 500,000 *Th.* a year for the support of the new army. In East Prussia, Cleves, and his other provinces the Great Elector exerted an equally heavy financial pres-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 318-338; *Prot. u. Rel.*, pp. 92-135.

sure in ways which cannot here be described, but which called forth loud and bitter protests from the Estates.<sup>18</sup> With the revenues which he thus raised he was able to recruit and equip in the course of the Northern War an efficient field army of over 27,000 men, not including the 4000 men serving in the garrisons. With this army he not only successfully repelled invasion in the latter part of the war, but was able at last, with the aid of duplicity, to shake off the hated Polish overlordship in East Prussia and to secure the recognition of his own sovereignty there.

The Great Elector's excuse for imposing such taxes and creating such an army had been the "unavoidable necessity" caused by a war not of his own making. When the war was over and the peace of Oliva had been signed, the Estates in each of his lands expected that he would follow the example of his predecessors in disbanding his forces until they were reduced again to the scanty garrison and body-guard troops customary before the Northern War. But the Great Elector now had no such intentions. "I have become convinced", he wrote, "that I owe the preservation of my position and my territory to God, and next to God, to my army." And in the interesting secret letter of advice which he drew up for his son in 1667 he declared:

<sup>18</sup> Before the Northern War the military land tax (*Kontribution*) had averaged only about 300,000 *Th.* a year and had come mainly from the central and western provinces. During the Northern War it rose rapidly and East Prussia also had to contribute its full share. The amounts of the military tax from the different provinces may be seen from the following table:

Year	Brandenburg	Cleves-Mark	Minden-Ravensburg	Halberstadt	Pomerania	E. Prussia	Total
	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>
1653	150,000	50,000	60,000	36,667	50,000		346,667
1654	75,000	50,000	60,000	36,667	107,798	6,000	335,465
1655	360,000	250,000	60,400	50,000	118,402	600,000	1,438,802
1656	540,000	250,000	84,400	51,045	84,546	600,000	1,609,991
1657	600,000	250,000	128,400	63,000	184,114	600,000	1,825,514
1658	531,000	250,000	128,400	117,617	406,031	600,000	2,033,048
1659	600,000	250,000	142,368	99,174	311,627	600,000	2,003,169
1660	360,000	250,000	142,368	99,174	220,763	300,000	1,372,305
Total . . .	3,216,000	1,600,000	806,336	553,344	1,483,281	3,306,000	10,964,961
% tax . .	29.5	14.6	7.0	5.0	13.5	30.4	100
% pop. .	32	13	7	4	10	34	100

The last two lines in the table show that the proportion of taxes contributed by each of the Elector's territories corresponded fairly equitably to the population in each. The figures given have been drawn from a variety of sources and in many cases are only approximate, but they have been checked up with the results reached by Wolters, *Die Zentralverwaltung des Heeres und der Steuern*, pp. 307, 575.



Alliances are good to be sure, but a force of one's own, on which one can more securely rely, is better. A ruler is treated with no consideration if he does not have Troops and means of his own. It is these, Thank God! which have made me "considerable" since the time that I began to have them; and I continually regret that at the beginning of my reign, to my great disadvantage I allowed myself to be dissuaded from them and against my wish followed other counsels.<sup>19</sup>

He had realized in the Northern War how dangerous "unpreparedness" is when one's neighbors are full of military activities. He saw that his subjects had become somewhat accustomed to the payment of military taxes. He saw that the time had come for maintaining by policy in time of peace, as a *standing army*, a part of the force which he had raised by necessity in time of war, as an active fighting army. Therefore, while disbanding more than half his forces, he still retained after the Northern War about 12,000 men, 5200 of whom were assigned to make more generous provision of defense of the garrisons, and the rest of whom were distinctly retained as a permanent field army. This is the true origin of the Prussian standing army.

In reducing his standing army to a peace footing after the Northern War the Great Elector still had to observe the utmost economy, for his lands were poor and he had not yet developed a large source of revenue for military purposes. Thus, the artillery, which on account of its large equipment in horses was one of the most expensive, though smallest, parts of the army, was wholly given up. The guns and gunners were redistributed again among the fortresses. This continued to be the practice throughout the Great Elector's reign. Only in time of war were the guns brought out again from the fortresses and mounted to form a temporary artillery division.<sup>20</sup>

The Great Elector also reduced the number of officers, but not proportionally with the rest of the army. A large number of officers, instead of being dismissed altogether, were kept in his service by paying them "waiting money" (*Wartegeld*). They had no soldiers under them and no duties in time of peace. They were, in a sense, on temporary leave of absence. But if war broke out, they were bound by the terms of their "waiting money" to be ready to recruit new regiments or to take command of old troops, according as the Elector should direct. Thus the Great Elector assured for himself an adequate number of good, experienced, and trusted officers without the burden of actually supporting a correspondingly large number of common soldiers.

<sup>19</sup> This interesting letter was first discovered and printed by Ranke, *Genesis des Preuss. Staates* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 508.

<sup>20</sup> Jany, *Die Alte Armee*, p. 56.

In time of peace also the Great Elector, with characteristic thrift, found means of turning his standing army to profitable uses. Soldiers were employed in digging the famous Frederick William canal connecting the Elbe with the Oder. In 1663 soldiers were conveniently used in transforming the Tiergarten into a pleasant park and suburb for Berlin. In the same year, when the Turks again became dangerous and the Emperor begged for help, the Great Elector was able to lend him 2000 troops—on condition that the Emperor should pay all the costs of their support.<sup>21</sup>

The Estates, however, were by no means reconciled to his retention of even a small standing army, and they did not believe that the rumors of war at all justified his continued forced collection of military taxes which had not been constitutionally granted. They protested loudly, but in vain. For after he had established his sovereignty in East Prussia, the Elector felt able to take a higher tone toward the Estates than in his helpless years at the beginning of his reign. His triumph over the Estates in East Prussia, in the course of which the leaders of the opposition, Roth and Kalckstein, were kidnapped and imprisoned, is well known.<sup>22</sup> In Brandenburg, when a deputation of the Estates presented a list of grievances in 1666 he expressed himself sharply:

*Deputies.* We are sorely grieved that in matters touching the weal or woe of the land and entailing the loss of our property and our total ruin, you no longer call us together in the Diet to ask our advice.

*Frederick William.* Tie secret and weighty matters to a bell-rope by giving them to the Estates to deliberate over, indeed!

*Deputies.* It is with the greatest pain that we have seen how you have continued to levy 22,000 *Th.* a month, and done so as if it were a permanent tax.

*Frederick William.* I could wish that we lived with such neighbors that we could get along with less.

*Deputies.* The military taxes we have paid out of loyal love and devotion for so many years cause the decay of the towns and villages.

*Frederick William.* For the decay in the towns the town magistrates themselves are responsible. It is due to the inefficiency of their administration, which smells to heaven.

*Deputies.* We are also saddened at the order that recruiting is to be held in every town and village. It makes conditions of life so uncertain. Every one fears danger and suspects evil.

*Frederick William.* I am not a little displeased that my good intentions toward the welfare of my people are made a matter of fear and suspicion. If it were not for some people who are so clever that they

<sup>21</sup> Convention of August 23, 1663, *Urk. u. Act.*, XI. 298.

<sup>22</sup> For the details of "The Great Diet, 1661-1663", see *ibid.*, XV. 459-775; XVI. 1-425.

can hear grass growing, wrong impressions of your ruler's intentions would not be made.<sup>23</sup>

A few days later, in words which sound very like those which Bismarck used two centuries later in his constitutional conflict with the Prussian legislature, the Great Elector declared to the Brandenburg deputies: "The burden of taxation in the present circumstances is unavoidable. It is necessary for our safety and welfare. Mere words and empty arguments in cases like this accomplish little or nothing."<sup>24</sup>

At the same time the Elector began to devise, and eventually put into operation, a number of new military taxes which he hoped would afford him a steady revenue for the standing army, and yet which would not bear with such a direct and irritating pressure on the people as the old land-tax (*Kontribution*). The new taxes would also have the great advantage that their collection and administration would be mainly in the hands of the Elector's own personal officials, could be centralized at Berlin, and could be made in time more or less uniform for all his territories. One of the most objectionable features of the land-tax, from the Elector's point of view, was that its collection and administration were normally in the hands of the agents of the Estates. Among the new taxes was an excise (*Akzise*) on meat, grain, and beer; it was first used on a considerable scale in 1667 in the towns of Brandenburg, and later extended as a "general excise" into the Elector's other provinces.<sup>25</sup> During the war with Sweden, in his great necessity, he twice levied on all his lands, as an emergency war-tax, what may be described as a graduated income tax (*Kopfsteuer*). All his subjects were graded into 250 classes, ranging all the way from the Elector himself, who was taxed 1000 *Th.*, and his wife, who was assessed at 500, down through university professors and physicians who paid four thaler each, to day-laborers in small towns who contributed only a quarter of a thaler.<sup>26</sup> Its collection was exclusively in the hands of the Elector's military revenue collectors (*Steuerkommissare*) acting under orders

<sup>23</sup> Memorial of the Estates, July 1, 1666; the grievances of the Estates are given in summary, but Frederick William's autograph marginal notes are *verbatim*. *Urk. u. Act.*, X. 389-392.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The opposition to it was so strong in some of the provinces that its introduction into all the provinces was not accomplished till after the Great Elector's death in 1688. The best account of it is by Hugo Rachel, *Die Handels-, Zoll-, und Akzisepolitik Brandenburg-Preussens bis 1713* (*Acta Borussica*, Berlin, 1911), pp. 501-599.

<sup>26</sup> Edicts of January 20, 1677, and January 7, 1679, in Mylius, IV. v, nos. 1 and 2.

from the central war department (*Generalkriegskommissariat*) at Berlin. The Estates had nothing to do with it. It was another innovation which further undermined their power and correspondingly increased that of the Elector. It was uniform for all the lands and broke through the old existing medieval distinctions between town and country and between different social classes. After the close of the war with Sweden a small revenue was derived from a stamp-tax (*Stempelsteuer*) on all legal papers.<sup>27</sup> In order to secure means for building up a navy, the Elector levied after 1686 a tax (*Chargensteuer*) which somewhat resembled in principle the "first fruits" of the medieval church: every official on receiving a new office had to pay over to the government half the first year's salary.<sup>28</sup> Of the successful administration of these taxes, as well as of the relatively good organization, equipment, and discipline of the army itself, there is here no time to speak. But a word may be said as to its later growth and influence during the Great Elector's life-time.

During the wars with Louis XIV. and the Swedes (1672-1679), when he had to defend his lands over a very wide front from the Rhine to the Memel, Frederick William steadily increased his standing army until it reached in 1678 the maximum number of over 45,000 men, including all branches of the service.<sup>29</sup> This number was beyond his own means of support. It was only through the fortunate circumstance that he was able to secure considerable subsidies from his neighbors—363,800 *Th.* from Spain, 770,622 from the Dutch, and nearly a million from the Holy Roman Empire—that he was able to keep on foot a standing army of this size.

After the French-Swedish War had been brought to an end by peace in 1679, Frederick William again reduced his forces by somewhat more than one-half, just as he had done after the close of the Northern War, but he still retained a very respectable standing army of about 18,000 men. This remained the average size of the

<sup>27</sup> Edict of July 15, 1682; in Mylius, IV. v, Kap. iii, no. 1; by a misprint Mylius gives the date as 1685 instead of 1682.

<sup>28</sup> Edict of January 2, 1686; in Mylius, IV. v, Kap. ii, nos. 1-4.

<sup>29</sup> The strength of the different branches of the service, according to an official estimate of December 28, 1678, in the Zerbst Archives, quoted by Jany, *Die Alte Armee*, pp. 91-93, was as follows:

General Staff, comprising.....	184 men
Cavalry, 85 companies, comprising .....	9,764 "
Dragoons (mounted infantry), 29 companies.....	3,455 "
Infantry, 188 companies, .....	30,892 "
Artillery, .....	1,033 "
Total .....	45,328 "

army until the outbreak of the war which followed Louis XIV.'s invasion of the Palatinate, when it was increased again to 30,000. It made Brandenburg-Prussia, next to Austria, the strongest power in Germany and a highly prized ally in the War of the Spanish Succession.

The indirect effects of the standing army were perhaps even more important than the direct. As the army was one of the first institutions which embodied the unity and efficiency of the whole Brandenburg-Prussian state, in contrast with the weakness and corner-grocery attitude of the separate provinces, so the organs of financial administration which were developed for the army's support—the central war department (*Generalkriegskommissariat*),<sup>30</sup> the military revenue collectors (*Steuerkommissare*), the military budget (*Generaletat*), the war chest (*Kriegskasse*), and the army chest (*Generalfeldkriegskasse*)—soon came to form a centralized and efficient administrative service. This rapidly supplanted the various lax and decentralized agencies which had been managed by the Estates. The absolutistic officials of the Elector gradually took the place of the particularistic agents of the Estates. In many cases the Elector shrewdly adopted and transformed their agents into officials of his own.<sup>31</sup> And the curious thing is that within a generation many of the families which had been loudest in their protests against the Great Elector's attacks on their so-called liberties were the very ones who made the most loyal and efficient members of the new Prussian bureaucracy.

To what extent, it may be asked, are the Great Elector and his standing army responsible for the Prussian militarism of to-day? Less, I believe, than is usually supposed. But this is a large question upon which I may not venture at this time to enter.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

<sup>30</sup> It is significant that it was the Northern War which led to the establishment of the first regular war department with authority over all the military forces in all the Elector's provinces (April 8, 1655). The head of this department, who at first was merely a member of the Privy Council assigned to look after military matters, speedily built up about himself a body of clerks and administrative boards which carried forward the work of centralizing and strengthening the military administration. The head of this department exercised some of the functions of a general staff, of a quartermaster-general, and of a treasury department. For an excellent discussion of the development of the office, see Wolters, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-145.

<sup>31</sup> It was through a transformation of this kind that the modern *Landrat*, who represents the quintessence of Prussian conservatism and bureaucracy, came into existence. Cf. F. Gelpke, *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Landratsamtes der Preussischen Monarchie* (Berlin, 1902); also Wolters, pp. 146-158.

## THE NORTHERN RAILROADS, APRIL, 1861

OF the superabundant material on the military history of the Civil War, by far the greater portion has been written for the generation that fought it. The emphasis has been upon the battle-field, and upon achievements and mistakes that parallel those of warfare since history began. As it recedes from the popular memory, and scientific interest replaces personal, attention will tend to be focused rather upon those features which distinguish it from other conflicts, and particularly those that time shows to mark stages in the development of war. For the student of military history, of whatever nation or time, it will always prove a fruitful field, being the greatest military episode, as well as the midway point, between the two world-war cycles of the modern period. Of the innumerable developments affecting the conduct of war, which the Civil War enables us to study in mid-career, the most important seem to the writer to be the progress of democracy, of the humanitarian spirit, and of transportation. The present paper is a contribution to the last-named subject, being a study of the railroad situation in the North at the opening of the war.

Ropes contents himself with saying: "The railroad systems of the North were far more perfect and extensive, and the roads were much better supplied with rolling-stock and all needed apparatus."<sup>1</sup> The Comte de Paris, with a better appreciation of the importance of the subject, devotes nine pages to the railroad situation.<sup>2</sup> The official French observers, however, failed to give it so much attention, or, at any rate, their government failed to profit by our experiences, for Lanoir says that the War of 1870 found France with no military organization of railroads, no act, administrative or ministerial, no decree, no plan.<sup>3</sup> Nor have English military writers, in spite of their interest in the war, studied this field in which it was the first experiment ground; although in 1862 W. B. Adams devoted a chapter of his book on *Roads and Rails* to the question of the rela-

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of the Civil War*, I. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Civil War in America*, I. 208-217.

<sup>3</sup> Lanoir, *La Question des Chemins de Fer*, p. 48; *Organisation Militaire des Chemins de Fer* (L. Bowdoin et Cie., 1884), p. 7, states that the Germans were the first to understand and press to its consequences the revolution that steam produced in the economy of defense and attack. It mentions the Crimean and Italian wars, but not the Civil War.



tion of railroads to national defense. Very different has been the attitude of the Germans. In 1867 J. G. Laszmann published *Der Eisenbahnkrieg*, of which the theories are based on our experience combined with that afforded by the War of 1866. In 1882 H. C. Westphalen published *Die Kriegführung unter Benutzung der Eisenbahnen und der Kampf um Eisenbahnen*, which gives a most detailed account of the handling of railroads for war purposes between 1861 and 1865, and the most unqualified praise to General McCallum, who chiefly handled them. As late as 1896, Dr. Joesten in his *Geschichte und System der Eisenbahnbesuchung im Kriege*, drew a large part of his material from the same struggle. When one remembers that one of the German staff of observers was Count Zeppelin,<sup>4</sup> one is inclined to believe that the best accounts of the whole problem are probably in the archives of the Prussian staff, and that our experience was probably the basis upon which was built their system,<sup>5</sup> which in 1866, for the first time in Europe, made effective war-use of railroads.

Before the Civil War, railroads had been used for military purposes in the Mexican War, the Crimean War, and the Italian War. Their use in these instances had, however, been comparatively unimportant. It was, therefore, a new problem which confronted the Union and Confederate governments in 1861. Already, however, some thought had been given to it. In 1851 the secretaries of war and the navy, under instruction from Congress, addressed a circular letter to certain officers, requesting their opinion as to how far changing circumstances affected the great plans of coast defense outlined in 1816 and 1836; in particular: "How far the invention and extension of railroads have superseded or diminished the necessity of fortifications on the seaboard".<sup>6</sup> The replies varied greatly in the care devoted to them, and in point of view. The majority held that railroads were not a substitute for fortifications, although they changed the requirements. It is not surprising that the most interesting was from Lieutenant Maury. He wrote:

The part that railroads and magnetic telegraphs are to play in the great drama of war with this country has not yet been cast, much less enacted. In a military point of view, they convert whole States into

<sup>4</sup> *Cassier's Magazine*, August, 1910, p. 383.

<sup>5</sup> Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, pp. 398, 403, reports the study of American experience in Prussia.

<sup>6</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 92, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 297-387. This elaborate report includes a great mass of material, including the report of General Gaines of 1836, in which he discusses, not very significantly, railroads and frontier defense.

compact and armed masses. They can convey forces from one section of the Union to another as quickly as re-enforcements can be marched from one part of an old-fashioned battle-field to another.

He recommended the building of a railroad to the Pacific as the most effective measure for defending the California coast-line.<sup>7</sup>

Other officers complained that railroads would not be built where military necessity required them; few conceived, as did Maury, the building of them by the government. Yet the idea was not a startling one. Military wagon roads were built,<sup>8</sup> and so strict a constructionist as President Buchanan informed Congress, in 1857, that the national government not only "possesses the power, but it is our imperative duty, to construct" such military roads as are necessary to our defense, making his argument an introduction to a friendly discussion of the Pacific railroad proposal.<sup>9</sup>

The only action taken before the war, however, was the insertion of a clause in the railroad land grants declaring that the roads built therefrom be "free from toll or other charge upon the transportation of any property or troops of the United States", that is, at a rate based on the cost of equipment and motive power.<sup>10</sup> While so little was done, it is apparent that the subject was not entirely unconsidered, and it is not surprising that Jefferson Davis, the chief official patron of the Pacific railroad, made the completion of the missing links in the Southern railroad system one of his early recommendations to the Confederate Congress.<sup>11</sup> It is, in a way, more surprising, though but another indication of the native clarity of his vision, that Lincoln, in December, 1861, recommended the construction of a military railroad through Kentucky into East Tennessee and western North Carolina.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless it was by private initiative alone that the railway system of the United States in 1861 had been created, and private initiative had naturally followed for the most part the dictates of commerce and commercial opportunity, though political considera-

<sup>7</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 92, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 335 ff., especially p. 357.

<sup>8</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., p. 608; 34 Cong., 3 sess., p. 162; *Report of Secretary of War*, 1856, p. 371.

<sup>9</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 456-457.

<sup>10</sup> *Statutes*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., May 15, May 17, June 3, 1856, etc. Before this date there is no mention of troops. After its first insertion this clause became standard in railroad land grants. It was, of course, not retroactive.

<sup>11</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I. 139-140.

<sup>12</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI. 46. This proposal was endorsed by Kentucky, December 23, 1861. *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 14, 37 Cong., 2 sess.

tions had played some part, particularly in the South.<sup>13</sup> With such incentives there had developed a system which, east of the Mississippi, was comparatively independent of, though it did not ignore, water transportation; or rather two systems, for the states which seceded had one system, those which did not, another. Including the Kentucky Blue Grass with the North and western Kentucky with the South, the Southern system comprised about 9000 miles, and employed about 7500 railroad men, the Northern about 22,000 miles, employing about 29,000 men. There was only one point of physical contact between them: the Louisville and Nashville at Bowling Green. Long Bridge at Washington was not strong enough to bear trains, and between Cairo and Columbus was a two-hours' steamboat connection.<sup>14</sup> It is evident that most of the heavy inter-sectional trade was carried by the Mississippi and coastwise shipping, being distributed from such ports as Memphis, Vicksburg, Charleston, and Savannah.

The Northern system was the more complete. It left out the northern portions of Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin, with the Adirondacks, and but barely touched Minnesota and Iowa, but within this area there were but few places, such as northwestern Pennsylvania and the Catskill plateau, as much as twenty-five miles from a railroad. Ten roads connected the Ohio with the Lakes, where ten years before there had been but one; eight linked the Mississippi with the same artery, where ten years before there had been none. Its point of strain was at the crossing of the mountains. Here it must bear the increased traffic between East and West caused by the war, as well as the extra requirements of the upper Mississippi and Ohio valleys caused by the closing of the Mississippi. Moreover, of the four roads into which the traffic was here compressed, corresponding to what are now the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio systems, the latter was, for the first year of the war, closed by the enemy.<sup>15</sup> Yet the roads that remained were adequate to the task. They were put to it for men, as many joined the army just when business increased, and they had to increase wages, but they did their work, and there is no evidence that the government or business felt, except

<sup>13</sup> *Calhoun Correspondence*, Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1899, II. 701, 1062-1063.

<sup>14</sup> The following description is based on the railroad map for December, 1860, drawn by Professor R. H. Whitbeck for the Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States now in preparation by the Carnegie Institution.

<sup>15</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 15*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., *Report of Gen. George B. McClellan*, pp. 52-53. It was closed about the end of April, 1861, and opened late in March, 1862.

during a brief period of adjustment, the pinch of inadequate transportation.<sup>16</sup> In fact, when the war was over, satisfied trade could not be enticed away from the routes to which war had forced it.

The reason is plain. In the fifties the gold of California, the optimism of the American people, the rivalry of cities, had overbuilt the railroad system.<sup>17</sup> The panic of 1857 had checked growth but promoted consolidation and improvement. The railroads were ready, were panting, for an increase of business. The war saved them. In return they saved the country. At least, civil war in 1850 would have meant that the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio would have been bottled up; the railroads could not have carried their products to the East or to the Lakes, nor could the canals. The harvests which in 1861 saved our foreign credit could not have been sold, the population, restless even in 1862, and unmodified by the strong Union elements entering in the fifties, would have been a very doubtful element. The historian can explain why the Civil War occurred just when the North was supplied with a railroad system unnecessarily extensive for business in sight, but the average man might be excused for calling it "bull luck".<sup>18</sup>

The main military obligation which the war threw upon the railroads was that of maintaining the industrial life of the nation under changed conditions. Nevertheless the part they were to play in strictly military operations, was hardly second to that of the navy. In a report of August 4, 1861, General McClellan says:

It cannot be ignored that the construction of railroads has introduced a new and very important element into the war, by the great facilities thus given for concentrating at particular positions large masses of troops from remote sections, and by creating new strategic points and lines of operations.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, third series, I. 710-711, December, 1861. Cameron reports that the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio was important for purposes of trade; *American Railroad Journal* (weekly, ed. H. V. Poor and J. H. Schultz), 1861, pp. 401, 428, 476, 505-506, discusses the dislocation of trade.

<sup>17</sup> *The Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, states that 20,000 miles are all the inland commerce of the country requires, that 8000 are a dead loss. From a narrowly financial aspect this was probably true. The railroad time-tables at once illustrate that the roads were not used to capacity, though, of course, they could not be used as much as now, owing to the character of the grades, the slight development of double-tracking and inadequate sidings, and the crudity of signalling and switching systems. According to the *Census*, 1860, *Miscellaneous*, p. 324, the railroads carried about 850 tons per mile, per annum.

<sup>18</sup> In addition, there was the Erie Canal, and the Boston and Ogdensburg, the latter tapping Lake Ontario, p. 323.

<sup>19</sup> *Report of General McClellan*, p. 4.

It is characteristic that he adds: "It is intended to overcome this difficulty by the partial operations suggested." And yet it is difficult to see that the situation was not as advantageous to Northern as to Southern strategy. To be sure, McClellan, railroad man though he was, preferred to advance upon Richmond from the coast, and left the railroad advantage almost entirely to his opponents. In the direct advance upon Richmond, however, the railroads of northern Virginia were quite as useful to Union as to Confederate troops, while, as Alexander points out, the absence of north and south railroads in western Maryland and Pennsylvania was a constant check to Lee in his invasions.<sup>20</sup> Alexander, himself, regarded the interior railroad lines of the South as a great and neglected advantage.<sup>21</sup> Yet, when in 1863 Longstreet was sent West, it took Alexander eight days and ten hours to go from Petersburg to the vicinity of Chickamauga, while in the same campaign<sup>22</sup> Hooker went from Culpeper Court House to Bridgeport, Alabama, a longer distance over a more indirect route, in eight days.<sup>23</sup> This, of course, involved the use of part of the Southern system, but it renders it difficult to see why McClellan might not have considered the opportunities which railroads afforded him, as well as the difficulties they involved.

By using the word system it is, of course, not intended to imply that the Northern railroads had unified organization, yet they were by no means disjointed units. As the efficiency of a transportation system so largely depends upon organization, it is vital to an understanding of the part the railroads played to know at what precise degree of integration they had arrived. The original segments had nearly all been short; independent roads from Providence to Boston, Providence to Worcester, Boston to Worcester, Worcester to Springfield, were typical. This was, in part, due to the fact that capital was conservative and preferred to stay near home. In the fifties confidence in corporations and far-distant investments increased and greater enterprises were undertaken. John M. Forbes was able to attract Boston capital to the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy;<sup>24</sup> the Erie grew from New York to Lake Erie; the Illinois Central stretched nearly the length of that long state. By 1861 these units had begun to unite into larger entities, some of which were the ancestors of the great systems of to-day. This was prompted by

<sup>20</sup> Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 364.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449.

<sup>23</sup> Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV. 399; Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, pp. 172-177.

<sup>24</sup> Pearson, *An American Railroad Builder*, p. 86 and *passim*.

desire for administrative convenience and, particularly after 1857, by financial pressure.<sup>25</sup> On the whole, consolidation was favored by public sentiment,<sup>26</sup> and the local restaurateurs and omnibus men, who still in the South very generally prevented the physical connection between lines having their terminals in the same city,<sup>27</sup> had, after the Erie riots in 1854, largely lost sympathy in the North.<sup>28</sup> The unions were of many kinds: agreements, leases, operating contracts, joint ownership of connecting lines; practically all modern devices except the holding company and even this was in process of evolution. Owing to the complexity of these arrangements, it is impossible to state the exact limits of the real sovereignty of the several administrative units.<sup>29</sup> The most extensive was that of the Pennsylvania system, stretching from New York to Chicago. The New York Central was more loose-jointed, but was developing in a promising manner. The Boston and Maine was already beginning to spin its tangle to the delight of lawyers and the confusion of laymen. Still it was impossible to go from Boston to New York over one system, or from New York, or even Philadelphia, to Washington. The war caught the railroads at about one-quarter the way from the original diversity to the situation of 1916.<sup>30</sup>

American ingenuity, however, had rendered the situation less annoying to the traveller than might be supposed. In 1855, at Pittsburgh, there had been formed a national association of general ticket agents.<sup>31</sup> At first in the nature of a lark, if not a spree,<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Pearson, p. 89 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859. This point is strongly emphasized in a study of corporations to 1860, made by Theodore Gronert in his doctoral thesis, Wisconsin, 1917.

<sup>27</sup> Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, pp. 383-384; Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads", pp. 794-810 of this journal.

<sup>28</sup> Rhodes, *United States*, III. 21-23.

<sup>29</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, gives many data on this subject. In many cases where no other information is given, the lack of any data on equipment indicates that the road was operated by another, although in some cases such lack may be due to failure to report. Material on this subject is also given in the *American Railroad Journal*, every weekly number giving a railroad list with equipment, as well as financial data.

<sup>30</sup> I note 22 railroads with track in more than one state, out of 340 listed.

<sup>31</sup> *Records of the National General Ticket Agents Association* (Chicago, 1878). The first meeting was on March 13. In 1856 they met at Hamilton, Baltimore, Boston, and St. Louis; in 1857 at Indianapolis; in 1858 at Chicago and Philadelphia; in 1860 at Cleveland; in 1861 at Cincinnati, January 10, Louisville, April 9 (the largest meeting, 51 roads, of which one was Southern), and Detroit, October 2. The Detroit and later meetings took up the war situation, see particularly pp. 76-77.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-25.

their meetings rapidly developed into important business conferences. In 1862 they resolved that it was "inexpedient . . . to accept invitations which interfere with . . . business".<sup>33</sup> Here was evolved a system of coupon tickets which in 1859 enabled the traveller to buy his transportation through from New Orleans to Bangor, Maine.<sup>34</sup> As the baggage check system was also in use,<sup>35</sup> and universal railroad guides in circulation,<sup>36</sup> the worry of travel was already largely reduced for the traveller, while the facilitation of freight was also provided for.

With this spirit of accommodation, through cars were run over some connecting lines, as between Boston and New York.<sup>37</sup> This movement, however, had made but slight progress, and the trains, both freight and passenger, nearly always presented an appearance very different from that of those we watch in the yards to-day, for practically every car belonged to the road on which it was running. This was in large measure due to the physical inheritance from the days of still greater diversity, the difference in gauges. In the North, I have noted eleven different gauges, running from 4.4½ to 6 feet.<sup>38</sup> Out of this chaos there was coming some order. Four feet, ten inches was an Ohio favorite, but such roads were not extending. Four feet, eight and one-half inches was the general favorite in the North, but the New York Central was 4 ft. 8 in. The battle between broad and narrow gauge could not be said to be won;<sup>39</sup> the Erie used the 6-foot, and its growing ally the Atlantic and Great Western was pushing that form of track across the Middle States toward St. Louis. In the South an even 5-foot was general, but did not hold a mastery. A change of gauge meant, of course, change of cars; between Philadelphia and Charleston there were eight. Even the Pennsylvania had to announce one change between New York and Chicago, at Pittsburgh, where every pound of its freight had to be transferred, as its Eastern and Western systems had different gauges.<sup>40</sup> The standardization of gauge was beyond

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, p. 318; see also Johnson and Huebner, *Railroad Traffic and Rates*, II. 22.

<sup>35</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Rail* (London, 1856), p. 41, etc.

<sup>36</sup> Rhodes, *Railroad and Steamboat Directory* (Philadelphia, 1857); Dinsmore, *Railroad and Steam Navigation Guide* (New York, 1858); perhaps the best was Appleton's, which was supposed to be issued semi-monthly.

<sup>37</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Rail*, p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Ashcroft, *Railroad Directory for 1862*, gives the gauges.

<sup>39</sup> There was much literature on this subject.

<sup>40</sup> Ferguson, p. 248, describes the methods in this greatest of freight transfer stations.



the expectation of the day, and inventors were at work, as yet unsuccessfully, on adjustable running gear.<sup>41</sup>

Another factor necessary to an understanding of the part played by railroads in the war is a knowledge of the character of the roads themselves and their equipment. Inferior as were the best to the average of to-day, there was probably more variety than there is now. Yet American railroads were as distinct from the European as they are to-day; their development had been largely a native growth, and the difference was not alone one of inferiority.

The laying out and grading of the road represented about one-third of its cost.<sup>42</sup> From a military standpoint this was a permanent accomplishment for it resisted destruction. During the Civil War such masonry also as existed appears to have survived,<sup>43</sup> but there was little compared with what we expect to see. The tracks were very slightly ballasted,<sup>44</sup> but the ties were laid closer than in Europe,<sup>45</sup> and efforts were already being made to prolong their life by injecting creosote.<sup>46</sup> No steel rails were in use.<sup>47</sup> Although the wooden rail, really a wooden rail capped with iron and weighing about fifteen pounds to the yard, had gone out of use in the North, it was still used in the South. During the war the Pennsylvania experimented with a 67-pound rail, but 64 was the heaviest lying in 1861.<sup>48</sup> The form of the rail, however, was more nearly modern than were those then used in Europe.<sup>49</sup> Double-tracking was making rapid progress to the north, but had made but little progress in the war region.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics des États-Unis d'Amérique en 1870* (Paris, 1875), p. 134; this superb study gives many facts in engineering history.

<sup>42</sup> *The Capitalists' Guide* gives the cost of the Memphis and Ohio as \$681,036 for grade, ties, and bridges; \$592,900 for superstructure, and \$250,000 for equipment. No figures give exactly what is wanted here, but the statement is a rough estimate drawn from many such accounts as the above.

<sup>43</sup> See *Photographic History*, I. 27, 213; V. 75, etc.

<sup>44</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 132.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Taylor, *Distinctive Features*, p. 8. In 1863 the Pennsylvania road experimented with steel rails, axles, and ties.

<sup>48</sup> Wilson, *Reminiscences of a Railroad Engineer* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 135.

<sup>50</sup> Statistics on double-tracking are very difficult to obtain. In New England it had made considerable progress, as in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and on the Baltimore and Ohio system; elsewhere it was rare. The Pennsylvania road began double-tracking in 1854, in 1860 its length was 331, with 262 miles of double-track. In New York state in 1860 there were 2656.10 of road, of which 1053.40 were double-tracked, but these figures included sidings. Seminary study by Mr. H. K. Murphey, 1916.

The Americans were the cleverest bridge-builders of the world. Already the first suspension bridge across Niagara had been in place five years and carried trains.<sup>51</sup> Iron bridges were coming in, but most were wooden, and the easiest way to cripple a railroad was to destroy its bridges. The war began with their destruction north of Baltimore. Again and again did those of Virginia go up in smoke, only to rise again, beautiful tissues of wooden trestle, almost over night.<sup>52</sup> Across the Susquehanna at Havre-de Grace was a car-ferry.<sup>53</sup> Here and there, in their pride, successful roads had begun to erect splendid terminals. That at Providence was one of the most graceful buildings ever created in America; but these stations were much further removed from the modern terminal than were roads and trains. It would still take fifty years to adjust architecture to the new requirements.

The cars were of the modern American type,<sup>54</sup> but lighter. Murray wrote in 1855 that an American car to seat fifty weighed from ten to twelve tons and cost £450, while accommodation for fifty in England cost £1500. At present our cars are the heavier. We already, however, used the double-pivoted wheel-base, generally with eight wheels, which allowed for sharper curves in the road.<sup>55</sup> The smoking-car, the water-filter, the toilet, and the omniferent newsboy were already in evidence.<sup>56</sup> Stoves were used for heating. The sleeping-car was in use, and the Woodruff type seemed to young

<sup>51</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, pp. 63-69; *The American Railroad* (New York, 1889); *American Railroad Journal*, 1861, pp. 357, 468, 476.

<sup>52</sup> Beautiful examples are to be seen in the *Photographic History*, V. 252, 272, 278, 294, 298.

<sup>53</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 32; *Harper's Weekly*, June 8, 1861, p. 361.

<sup>54</sup> For an appreciation of the physical characteristics of railroads no better material exists than the contemporary photographs. The *Photographic History*, V. 271-302, is devoted to railroads and the army; I. 193, shows Illinois Central cars at Cairo; p. 325, the Richmond and York River Road, with light rail and poor grade, but good flat-cars. *Harper's* and *Leslie's* give sometimes photographs, sometimes sketches. *Harper's Weekly*, November 9, 1861, gives a good bird's-eye-view railroad map; May 11, it illustrates the repair of the Annapolis road with wooden rails, while *Leslie's* of the same date shows troops diving to recover sunken rails. *Leslie's*, April 30, shows troops in passenger-cars at Baltimore; June 15, Camp Dennison, Ohio, with a railroad passing through it; June 29, a fight about a train; October 5, a wreck; August 3, the first picture of troops in freight-cars, which becomes a common sight. These same authorities illustrate also water transportation; *Harper's*, September 28, for instance, shows troops in canal-boats.

<sup>55</sup> Murray, *Lands of the Slave and the Free* (London, 1855), II. 45-52, 146, a very good account.

<sup>56</sup> Thornbury, *Criss-Cross Journeys* (London, 1873); he travelled in the spring of 1861.

Andrew Carnegie a promising field for his energy.<sup>57</sup> To judge from descriptions, however, it would seem that had the mechanism not improved, most persons would still prefer the day-coach.<sup>58</sup> The restaurant-car was not yet, and the ordinary passenger, like the soldier, ate a casual apple or descended to a Gargantuan gorge at properly spaced twenty-minute stops.<sup>59</sup>

The locomotives with their turnip-shaped stacks and slight bodies looked more unlike those of to-day, than did the cars. Europeans noted, with praise, the house for the engineer, and the musical warning of the bell.<sup>60</sup> The cow-catcher lived up to its name; the Philadelphia and Reading often made a century a week, for tracks were practically never fenced in.<sup>61</sup> Most engines were named, and a typical good one was the *Vibbard*, which weighed 59,000 pounds, cost \$11,845, and ran 5709 miles for \$4,318.79 in the year ending June, 1865.<sup>62</sup> Most engines burned wood, though experiments were being made with coal.<sup>63</sup> The train was governed by the conductor. The Pennsylvania had its own system of telegraphic control,<sup>64</sup> as did many others in the North, while in the South the railroad telegraph was little used.<sup>65</sup> Couplings and safety-switches were engaging attention, but were unsolved problems. The snow-plow was used in the North,<sup>66</sup> and many of the bridges were covered.<sup>67</sup> Better time was made on the main lines than a study of conditions would lead one to suspect. In 1857 trains were scheduled from Boston to Chicago in forty-two hours, to New York in twelve and a half hours, to St. Louis in forty-eight; from New York to Chicago in thirty-six hours, to Charleston in sixty-two; from Charleston to Nashville in thirty-three, to Memphis in forty-two. In 1861 the

<sup>57</sup> *Who's Who in America*, 1916-1917, p. 400.

<sup>58</sup> Thornbury, *Criss-Cross Journeys*, I. 34-47; he slept well on the third trial; Charles Francis Adams, *Autobiography*, p. 65. McPherson, *When Railroads were New*, p. 171, gives the cost as about \$4000. The first "Pullman", built during the war, cost \$18,000.

<sup>59</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Road*, p. 43; Moore, *History of the Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon* (Philadelphia, 1866).

<sup>60</sup> See *Photographic History*, VIII. 277, etc.

<sup>61</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 132.

<sup>62</sup> *Am. Railroad Journal*, 1861, pp. 498, 540, gives results of tests on Illinois Central; *Photographic History*, V. 287. A similar locomotive to-day would weigh about 180 tons and cost about \$30,000.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *Distinctive Features*, p. 10. Experiments were being made in smoke consumption.

<sup>64</sup> Plum, *The Military Telegraph during the Civil War in the United States* (Chicago, 1882), I. 66-67.

<sup>65</sup> Phillips, *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, p. 385.

<sup>66</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, p. 105, etc.

<sup>67</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Road*, p. 42.

New York Central and Pennsylvania both scheduled forty-hour trains from New York to Chicago. These, however, were exceptional routes, and the average train made its way in leisurely fashion, as the habit of smoking on the car platforms reveals.

The *Capitalists' Guide* of 1859 reported that the Southern roads were in better shape than the Northern, but this was a matter of finance alone. A glimpse at the pages of the same book giving the equipment of the individual roads reveals the discrepancy. The Memphis and Charleston, with 290 miles of track, owned 35 locomotives, 32 passenger, 449 freight, and 42 service cars; the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, with about one-third the track, had about the same equipment; the Baltimore and Ohio had more than half as many freight-cars as were reported in the whole South, the New York Central more than half as many passenger-cars, and the Pennsylvania and Erie together, almost as many engines.<sup>68</sup>

Ties, rails, bridges, and equipment were liable to destruction on capture,<sup>69</sup> and, therefore, the possibility of replacement was of obvious moment. Nor was this less true of the North than of the South, for it is apparent that the larger equipment of its roads was fully used by the business of those roads, and the special requirements of the army were mostly for cars and engines to run conquered Southern roads of different gauge.<sup>70</sup> If this paper were devoted to the South, this would be the vital problem to discuss, as it was the vital problem for the Confederate government to solve. If as vital for the North, it was at any rate small cause for worry. The American railroad system was practically self-sufficing, and it was the manufacturing North which had supplied the lion's share. The shops which had equipped the mushroom growth of the fifties were eager, after the slack since 1857 and the loss of the Southern market, to supply the war-drain. It is perhaps sufficient to state that there is not the slightest evidence of shortage or strain, except that occasioned by sudden crises in special localities.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The reports are not complete, but the lines not reporting were mostly small.

<sup>69</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1861, p. 455, illustrates the destruction of 50 Baltimore and Ohio locomotives; August 3, p. 491, of 42 at Martinsburg, W. Va., etc.; see also Imboden, "Jackson at Harper's Ferry in 1861", in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1884), I, 122-125, on Jackson's trap for trains.

<sup>70</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, p. 18, on the struggle for the equipment of the Louisville and Nashville. In Virginia McCallum changed the gauge to 4.8½ so that he could use northern equipment. *Am. Railr. Journ.*, 1862, p. 398.

<sup>71</sup> In an emergency the factories delivered to McCallum in Nashville, in February, 1864, 13 locomotives; March, 7; April, 10; May, 23; and kept up the

The effectiveness with which the railroads could be used depended in large measure on the control which the government could exert over them. In 1870 the French government requisitioned all means of transport.<sup>72</sup> The United States government never undertook any such comprehensive measure. In fact it was neither desirable nor necessary. The roads showed a ready spirit of helpfulness.<sup>73</sup> On April 26, 1861, the directors of the Illinois Central placed their road at the disposition of the government, with its 110 engines, 2600 freight cars, and 3500 men. Compensation would be expected for the use of the rolling-stock, but it could be arranged later.<sup>74</sup> On the whole the roads were willing, the government generous, and the pressure was better met by the regular officials than it would have been by direct government control.

Where the situation called for it, however, the government showed no hesitation in exercising power. "About the close of April" 1861, the government took control of the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Annapolis and Elk Ridge. Both were returned to the companies when order in eastern Maryland was restored, and before the seizure was reported to Congress.<sup>75</sup> Cameron reported July, 1861: "Supervision of railroad and telegraph lines will remain a necessity."<sup>76</sup> January 31, 1862, Congress authorized the President to take possession of railroads so that they should be considered part of the military establishment of the United States, subject to all the restrictions imposed by the rules and articles of war. February 11, 1862, Brigadier-General McCallum was appointed "military director and superintendent of railroads in the United States" with authority to "enter upon, take possession of,

latter rate as long as he called for them. The *Census of 1860, Manufactures*, clxxx-cxcvi, gives a production of railroad iron in the North of 222,577 tons; in the South, of "bar and railroad iron", 26,252 tons; 19 factories producing "wholly or chiefly" locomotives in the North, to 1 in Virginia; Virginia stood well in car-springs, etc., but no manufacture of car-wheels is reported in the South. Obviously, considering the difference of gauges, the manufacture of railroad-cars was more widely distributed, the iron parts being assembled. Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee produced each a respectable number, but Pennsylvania produced twice as many as the entire South. This branch is not discussed in the census, the figures being given with the several states.

<sup>72</sup> Lanoir, *La Question des Chemins de Fer*, p. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Fish, "Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers", *Military Historian and Economist*, I. 258-273 (July, 1916). See also Wilson, *Reminiscences*, p. 41.

<sup>74</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, third series, I. 121. This put their road on the same basis as the other land-grant roads.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 673.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

hold and use all railroads, cars, locomotives, equipments, appendages, and appurtenances, that may be required".<sup>77</sup> The government had already taken possession of the railroads in the region occupied in Northern Virginia, seized three engines, and "borrowed" three from the Philadelphia and Reading, reconstructed Long Bridge, laid tracks across it, and made connection with the Alexandria and Orange, thus originating a system of military railroads under its own management.<sup>78</sup> Before the Baltimore attack on the Sixth Massachusetts, a government telegraph system had been begun, although it was dependent for seven months for money and supplies upon E. E. Sanford, president of the American Telegraph Company. No moment of doubt or hesitation is shown in exercising all needed control; the question of its extension was one of policy alone.<sup>79</sup> Nor did the government show more hesitation in upholding its own railroad men in their relations with commanders in the field. A special order of November 10, 1862, read:

Commanding officers of troops along the United States military railroads will give all facilities to the officers of the roads . . . for unloading . . . working parties will always be in readiness for that duty, and sufficient to unload the whole train at once.

Commanding officers will be charged with guarding the tracks, sidings, wood, water-tanks, etc., within their several commands, and will be held responsible for the result.

Any military officer who shall neglect his duty in this respect will be reported to the quartermasters and officers of the railroad, and his name will be stricken from the rolls of the army.....

No officer, whatever may be his rank, will interfere with the running of the cars as directed by the superintendent of the road.

Any one who so interferes will be dismissed from the service for disobedience of orders.<sup>80</sup>

Therein spoke the ablest railroad lawyer of the country, Edwin M. Stanton. The possibilities of direct service in the war lay not only in the stage of development they had attained, but in the men they had prepared.

The story is familiar how when railroad and telegraph connection between Washington and the North was broken, a Massachusetts regiment arrived at Annapolis. The road from that port to the Baltimore and Ohio had been damaged, and the only available engine was broken down. A call was made for men who could

<sup>77</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, pp. 1-39.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Offic. Rec., third series, I. 673.*

<sup>80</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, p. 33.* Contrast this with the slower appreciation of the need of control in the South, as shown in Mr. Ramsdell's article, ensuing.

repair it, whereupon a man stepped forward who had helped build it,<sup>81</sup> and speedily found competent mechanics to help him put it in repair. Within a few days a regular connection by boat was established between Havre-de-Grace and Annapolis, over which not only troops but regular passengers were taken. With the almost unnoticed rebuilding of the bridges between Baltimore and the Susquehanna, the regular railroad route was reopened, and that by Annapolis vanished.<sup>82</sup> It is not so important that there were thirty thousand miles of railroad in the United States in 1861, as that twenty thousand of them had been built in the last ten years. In those ten years greater progress had been made in transportation than in any other twenty of our existence to the present time. The number and variety of the problems to be solved, financial, administrative, and engineering, had demanded and developed extraordinary talent. Sound and careful judgment was a necessity, but tradition had no hold. New problems did not terrify, but the railroad men of the country were not untutored dreamers.<sup>83</sup> The profession was at an ideal point to meet an unexpected situation. Moreover, the railroad system was the only "Big Business" in the country. No other institutions drew their capital from as widely extended territory, did business of as far-flung scope, or handled male labor of such number and variety.

It was no accident, therefore, that the leading military organizer, McClellan, had been chief engineer and then vice-president of the Illinois Central, and had become in August, 1860, president of the Ohio and Cincinnati, although Ropes fails to mention his railroad experience. Equally with McClellan, credit for the prompt utilization of railroad possibilities must be given to the Secretary of War, Cameron, who was familiar, perhaps too familiar, with the Pennsylvania railroad men. He immediately called as assistant-secretary Thomas A. Scott, vice president of that road. If Scott was too liberal in his compensation to the railroads,<sup>84</sup> at least there can be no criticism of the effectiveness of his acts. He at once called four Pennsylvania men to assist him, one of whom, Strouse, took charge of the telegraphs, and one, twenty-four-year-old Andrew Carnegie, who had risen from telegraph messenger to telegraph

<sup>81</sup> Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), pp. 201-202.

<sup>82</sup> These were rebuilt by the company. *Offic. Rec.*, third series, I. 673; first series, II. 616-617, 635.

<sup>83</sup> Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, p. 545, comments on this resourcefulness. Note also a railroad battery pushed by a locomotive, *Photographic History*, V. 51, and a search-light, *Leslie's*, July 6, 1861.

<sup>84</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 18, 37 Cong., 2 sess.



operator, and superintendent of the Pittsburgh division, to be superintendent of telegraph lines and railroads in the East.<sup>85</sup> Cameron, McClellan, and Scott left under various clouds, and Carnegie followed them with a disgust for war which later made him the benefactor of pacifism, but the railroad work and the army organization had been well done. Cameron, moreover, was succeeded by Stanton, familiar with the railroads as one of their own officers, thoroughly able to understand "that the management of railroads is just as much a distinct profession as is that of the art of war".<sup>86</sup> He promptly called to the transportation service General Haupt, a West Point graduate of 1835, from 1846 with the Pennsylvania road, and after the war, builder of the Hoosac Tunnel.<sup>87</sup> More important, he called D. C. McCallum, an architect and engineer, general superintendent of the Erie, to take general charge of the military railroad situation.<sup>88</sup>

The most striking work of McCallum was the organization of reconstruction work. Roads and bridges were sometimes destroyed and rebuilt five times with the ebb and flow of the battle lines.<sup>89</sup> It was accomplished to the wonder and admiration of the most intelligent foreign observers.<sup>90</sup> The work itself belongs to the story of the war, but it would have been impossible if the railroad development to 1860 had not reached the point it had in accomplishment and public recognition. With the possible exception of the Navy Department, it was the most efficient of the public services, and ranks in that regard with the United States Sanitary Commission. These two contributions of our Civil War have been incorporated into the mechanism of all civilized war.<sup>91</sup>

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

<sup>85</sup> Plum, *Military Telegraph*, I. 66-67.

<sup>86</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, p. 34.

<sup>87</sup> *Photographic History*, V. 277.

<sup>88</sup> Wilson, *Reminiscences*, p. 45; the chief engineer of the Pennsylvania was appointed aide of General Couch during the Gettysburg campaign.

<sup>89</sup> Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, p. 419, etc.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398, and *passim*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398, referring to McCallum's report, *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, pp. 1-39.

## THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILROADS<sup>1</sup>

THE history of the Southern Confederacy affords an excellent illustration of the handicaps which, in this modern industrial world, beset any purely agricultural people in waging war. Success in war now depends so much upon the effective organization and application of the industrial resources of the nation to the support of the army that the mobilization of mines, farms, factories, foundries, banks, and means of transportation must accompany the mobilization of men. And, just as a trained army cannot be created without trained officers, the resources of a nation cannot be organized for effective military use if there is no body of trained industrial officers to conduct the industrial mobilization. When a people in a primitive stage of industrial development and therefore without trained industrial leaders engages a powerful adversary who is abundantly supplied with them, the tragic ending of that encounter is easily foretold. It was into such a conflict that the South rushed so light-heartedly in 1861.

Much has been said and written of the inferiority of the South in the supply of men and guns, when in fact a more fundamental weakness was its backward industrial condition. Moreover, industrial inexperience strengthened the confirmed particularism of the Southern people and their deep-rooted suspicion of every proposition which involved the extension of the activities and powers of the general government into the field reserved by custom for private enterprise. It would not be difficult to show that these were potent causes of the administrative paralysis which prostrated the Confederacy as much as did the battering of the Federal armies. Of this general statement the history of the Southern railroads from 1861 to 1865 offers one of the best illustrations.

The American Civil War was the first great military conflict in which railways were a highly important factor. So vast and in many parts so thinly populated was the area over which operations must be conducted and from which supplies must be drawn that without railways it would have been impossible for either side to maintain large armies at the front unless within reach of water

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 27, 1916.

transportation.<sup>2</sup> Even in the North where the railroads were better developed and the total mileage was twice that of the South, and where the Ohio, the upper Mississippi, the Potomac, and the sea furnished effective supplement to the roads—even there the problem of transporting men and supplies to the military frontier was a troublesome one. In the South, where the roads were in most cases short local lines, inadequately financed by local capital, cheaply constructed, poorly equipped, and supplemented but very little by water navigation, they were wholly unprepared for the task suddenly forced upon them by the war.

From the utter absence of any recorded discussion of the subject it is clear that at the outbreak of war no man of prominence in the Confederacy foresaw that the railroads were to play a part of great importance or that there was any urgent need of strengthening them. Upon the railroad companies themselves the first effects of the war were unfortunate. The business depression which came with hostilities, the establishment of the blockade, and the discouraging by the Confederate government of the exportation of cotton had greatly and suddenly reduced seaward traffic and revenues. Not knowing what was ahead of them the companies reduced expenses. Salaries were cut and trains and employees were laid off.<sup>3</sup> Many of these employees were skilled men who were permanently lost to the roads, for some went into the army while others, of Northern birth and sympathies, made their way out of the Confederacy. Although the roads were now cut off from the Northern foundries from which they had always obtained their rails and rolling-stock, no general effort seems to have been made to get supplies elsewhere—a negligence which was probably due to the belief that the war would not last long.

Traffic soon revived but in a new direction. While the lines leading only to the sea-coast vainly awaited the raising of the blockade and the revival of business in the fall, those leading to the Virginia and Tennessee frontiers, where troops and stores were being concentrated, were enjoying a government patronage which greatly exceeded their former business. But the situation had its difficulties. The railroad business was still in the competitive stage in 1861 and the immense patronage of the government was worth fighting for; but as no single line could control rates all the way through from the lower South to Virginia and therefore none had

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pratt, *Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914*, p. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cuyler, Report of the President of the Southwestern Railroad, *Savannah Republican*, August 14, 1861.

much to gain by cutting its own rates, while it might be seriously affected by the combined rates of other roads, it is not surprising that the railroad men early came to the conclusion that some effort should be made to establish uniform charges for government transportation. This was desired also by the quartermaster-general, whose duty of providing all military transportation would be greatly lightened by such an arrangement. In the first flush of war-like enthusiasm some of the roads had offered their services free for military purposes,<sup>4</sup> while others had charged their full local rate. Manifestly, this could not continue. Therefore the representatives of thirty-three roads met in convention at Montgomery on April 26, 1861, and agreed to a uniform rate of two cents a mile for men and half the regular local rate for munitions, provisions, and material, and also agreed to accept Confederate bonds at par in payment of government transportation.<sup>5</sup> Since the local rates varied greatly, this arrangement did not give complete satisfaction, and the railway presidents held another convention at Chattanooga on October 4, 1861, at which a schedule was drawn up and presented to Quartermaster-General A. C. Myers. This schedule divided the freights into four classes with a uniform rate of so much per one hundred miles for each class. After some consideration Myers accepted it and urged it upon the roads not represented at Chattanooga.<sup>6</sup> Although this rate schedule remained in force for some time, various roads on one pretext or another demanded a higher rate, which was in some cases granted, with the result that new uniform rates became necessary.<sup>7</sup> As the currency depreciated, higher and higher rates were authorized in special cases to the end of the war.<sup>8</sup> The government never attempted to fix or interfere with rates for private business, probably assuming that such action was beyond its constitutional powers.

When in May and June of 1861 the government began to collect an army in Virginia one serious weakness of the transportation system was distinctly revealed. At such points as Chattanooga, Knoxville, Bristol, Lynchburg, Savannah, Augusta, Charlotte, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Petersburg—and there were many others

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, fourth series, I. 120, 224, 236, 238.

<sup>5</sup> Quartermaster-General's Letter-Book, I. 98-100, Confederate Archives, U. S. War Department; *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 269, 538.

<sup>6</sup> Circular of Quartm.-Gen., December 13, 1861, Letter-Book, II. 442.

<sup>7</sup> A. C. Myers to various persons, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, IV. 232; VI. 6, 77, 117, 227, 278, 301.

<sup>8</sup> W. S. Alexander to James Stewart, January 14, 1864, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, VII. 528; H. K. Burgwyn to J. A. Seddon, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 616-618.

—the roads terminating in those towns did not connect with each other and freight must be unloaded at one depot, hauled across town, and reloaded on cars at the other. Passengers frequently had to wait over until the next day. Since this arrangement made business for hotels and transfer companies, the town looked upon it with favor as a valuable asset and strongly opposed every attempt to provide connections for through traffic.<sup>9</sup> Even where the tracks connected, the freight had to be unloaded and reloaded on other cars, since no company was willing to entrust its cars to another line. Frequently troops and stores so unloaded would be compelled to wait for days and even weeks before they could move on to the next terminus. Consequently, at these points of congestion troops, ordnance, quartermasters, and commissary stores began to accumulate, and confusion, further delay, and sometimes heavy losses resulted.<sup>10</sup> Steps were taken to bridge these gaps, but without much effect. The case of Petersburg, Virginia, may be taken as an example. So great was the delay, expense, and inconvenience of transshipment between the several roads terminating at that important point that Gen. Robert E. Lee at the very beginning of the war urged the construction of connecting tracks.<sup>11</sup> The railway companies had long desired to make the connection but had been prevented from doing so by the opposition of the town itself. As a question of law was involved the Virginia state convention passed an ordinance, June 26, 1861, authorizing the connection. The roads now asserted that the expense would be too great for them to undertake the work without government loan; and when this seemed in a fair way to be obtained, the question arose whether the new law contemplated a permanent connection, in which the railroads would have an interest, or only a temporary one in which they would have practically none. As a temporary connection would be of light and flimsy construction and impassable for heavy freights, and as the authorities of Petersburg continued strenuously to oppose a permanent connection, no action was taken, and the congestion continued.<sup>12</sup> At other connecting points, as Lynchburg, through traffic

<sup>9</sup> *Savannah Republican*, November 11, 1861, for conditions at Augusta.

<sup>10</sup> Myers to J. S. Barbour, June 17, 1861, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, I. 197 203; Myers to Campbell Wallace, July 9, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 275; Myers to G. R. Echols, July 12, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 287; Myers to M. J. Harman, July 12, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 287; Myers to E. H. Gill, July 22, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 322.

<sup>11</sup> Lee to E. T. Morris, June 18, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 394.

<sup>12</sup> P. V. Daniel, jr., to Davis, June 27, July 17, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 405, 484; Daniel to Walker, July 2, *ibid.*, p. 417; Wm. T. Joynes to Walker, July 17, *ibid.*, p. 485; "Resolutions of the Common Council of Petersburg," December 10, 1861, *Public Documents of the Virginia Assembly, 1861-1862*, no. 32.

was impossible because of the change of gauge. The confusion and congestion were not relieved by the frequent interference of lesser military officials, who sought on their own responsibility and regardless of schedules and distribution of rolling-stock to order trains back and forth within the limits of their respective commands.<sup>13</sup> The quartermaster-general had no control over these officers and he was put to the utmost exertions to straighten out the tangles and mollify the railroad officials. The first general order issued by General Lee after he was called to Richmond in March, 1862, was directed against this practice.<sup>14</sup> It was becoming increasingly evident that some system of effective supervision or control looking to better co-ordination of shipments would soon be essential to the supply of the armies and the safety of the government itself.

Another difficulty which appeared early and steadily grew worse under the stress of war was the shortage of cars and engines. The supply on most of the Southern roads was scanty before the war and it proved wholly inadequate for the needs of the government. Moreover, some of the roads upon which the heaviest traffic was thrown were least able to bear it. This was the case with the line of roads extending from the vicinity of Chattanooga up the Tennessee valley and across to Lynchburg. These roads were comparatively new and their traffic before the war had been light, but now they became the chief carriers of grain, beef, and pork from the Tennessee region to the armies in Virginia. The task was far beyond their capacity and the continuous use of cars and engines without giving time for repairs reduced both rolling-stock and the frail tracks to a sad condition. The quartermaster-general made repeated efforts to obtain cars and engines from other roads for use on this line; but, as this aroused the jealousy of the officials of the other roads, who protested vigorously that they had none to spare, little was procured even under threat of impressment.<sup>15</sup> In fact every road was suffering for cars and engines, since the few shops which would build or repair them were soon either leased by the government for its own uses or were crippled by the conscription of their skilled workmen. It was becoming impossible to replace

<sup>13</sup> Wallace and John R. Branner to Benjamin, December 4, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. LII., pt. 2, pp. 227-228; Myers to Joseph E. Johnston, March 6, 1862, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, III. 380.

<sup>14</sup> See *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1010-1011.

<sup>15</sup> Myers to Wallace, September 18, 1861, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, II. 60; Benjamin to Myers, September 24, and Myers to W. S. Ashe, September 25, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 617; Myers to Wallace, September 30, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, II. 103; Myers to Ashe, October 5, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 123; Benjamin to Joseph E. Brown, September 30, and Brown to Benjamin, October 2 and 4, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 634, 646, 666.

losses and by the opening of 1862 the shortage of rolling-stock was so alarming that railroad men were predicting the utter breakdown of the roads within a short time.<sup>16</sup>

Imbued as the Southern people were with *laissez faire* ideas, their government was slow to take a hand in the operation of the roads, and when finally compelled by force of circumstances to interfere, it came only by degrees to any assumption of control. When the congestion of traffic in the summer of 1861 became serious, W. S. Ashe, formerly president of the Wilmington and Weldon, was appointed major and assistant quartermaster and assigned to the duty of "superintending the transportation of Troops and Military stores on all the Railroads, North and South, in the Confederate States". He was directed to give his special attention to the detention of freights on the roads from Wilmington to Richmond and from Nashville to Richmond, and to obtain concert of action among the several roads in order "to control the movement, speed, time-table, and connections" of the numerous trains going out of Richmond.<sup>17</sup> How long Ashe was retained in this position is not clear, nor is the exact extent of his authority anywhere defined. His rank and the correspondence of the quartermaster-general with various railroad officials indicate that Myers kept the general control of the business in his own hands and that he employed Ashe only as a sort of travelling agent and inspector to make contracts, investigate complaints, give assistance to the roads where possible, and make recommendations to the quartermaster-general.<sup>18</sup>

This arrangement seems to have accomplished but little toward the solution of the problems and was evidently unsatisfactory to the Secretary of War, by whose order Col. William M. Wadley, president of the Vicksburg and Shreveport Railroad, was, on December 3, 1862, assigned to the "supervision and control of the transportation for the Government on all the railroads in the Confederate States".<sup>19</sup> Wadley's powers were somewhat more exten-

<sup>16</sup> Neill S. Brown to Benjamin, January 12, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 839; resolutions of a convention of railroad presidents, Richmond, December 6, 1861, Pickett Papers, Library of Congress, accession 1910, fol. 108; Myers to H. J. Ranney, January 10, 1862, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, III. 106-107.

<sup>17</sup> Myers to Ashe, July 18, 1861, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, I. 313.

<sup>18</sup> Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, I. 322, 332; II. 103, 123, 187, 353, 442; Ashe to Davis, November 27, and December 13, 1861, Pickett Papers, accession 1910, fol. 108.

<sup>19</sup> "General Orders, No. 98, Adj. and Insp. General's Office", *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 225. Wadley had been in the railroad business for many years in Georgia and Mississippi. Phillips, *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, p. 319; Pollard to Davis, April 4, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1048.



sive than those previously assigned to Ashe, especially in respect to control over government agents, employees, engines, cars, and machinery. He was further not to be subject to the orders of the quartermaster-general but was to report through the adjutant and inspector-general to the Secretary of War. Of this last provision Myers complained repeatedly that only inconvenience, confusion, and embarrassment could result from transferring to another division of the war office the supervision of a service for which the quartermaster-general was responsible.<sup>20</sup> Myers was not in the good graces of the administration now, however, and his protests were unheeded.

Colonel Wadley tried to induce the railroad heads to agree (1) to a definite plan of co-operation under his immediate supervision, by which each railroad superintendent should act as an assistant to him and make weekly reports, and (2) to a through schedule of trains between Montgomery and Richmond. But his efforts were without success. The roads on the contrary adopted a schedule of rates which Wadley considered inequitable.<sup>21</sup> It seems that he never acquired direct control over any of the roads further than allowed by the contracts he was able to induce them to enter into, and his activities were confined chiefly to settling rates, helping the destitute roads to obtain rolling-stock, and making recommendations to the Secretary of War for the assumption by law of direct control and management of the roads that failed to perform their full duty.<sup>22</sup> For some reason not disclosed, Wadley's nomination was not agreeable to the Confederate senate and was rejected May 1, 1863.<sup>23</sup> Thereupon Capt. F. W. Sims was appointed June 4, 1863, to his position with the same duties and powers.<sup>24</sup>

On August 10, 1863, Brig.-Gen. A. R. Lawton replaced Colonel Myers as quartermaster-general, and the railroad bureau, of which Sims was the head, was placed at once under his jurisdiction.<sup>25</sup> Sims was both an able and an industrious officer and strove hard to improve the condition of the railroads, but his efforts to have detailed from the army enough mechanics to set the shops to build-

<sup>20</sup> Myers to Seddon, December 9, 1862, January 8 and 26, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 231, 304, 372.

<sup>21</sup> Wadley to Cooper, December 31, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 270-278.

<sup>22</sup> Wadley to Seddon, January 26, April 14 and 15, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 373, 483, 486; Myers to Larkin Smith, April 23, 1863, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VI. 301.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal of Congress of Confederate States*, III. 426.

<sup>24</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 579.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 697; Lawton to Sims, August 12, 1863, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VII. 31.

ing cars and engines and to rolling rails had no effect upon the higher military authorities. He seems to have had the confidence of the railroad men, probably because he showed a sympathetic understanding of their difficulties. Sims retained his post until the end of the war, but during the last year the duty of repairing the roads, especially bridges, was imposed upon the engineer bureau; and as the duties of supervision became too heavy for one man, the quartermaster-general from time to time called upon experienced railroad men in distant parts of the country to take charge of the transportation in those regions.<sup>26</sup>

Mere supervision could not make the transportation system efficient. Early in the war it became clear that the roads could not unaided procure the supplies and repairs necessary to keep them in good condition, and it was not long before they turned to the government as the only possible source of help. Besides, new lines were needed to link together certain neighboring roads in order to shorten distance and both to cheapen and to expedite shipments; and the building of these connections would require a financial backing which only the government was able to give.

The most important connection proposed was that between Danville, Virginia, and Greensborough, North Carolina. Mr. Davis called attention to the advantages of bridging this gap of about forty-eight miles, in his message to the Provisional Congress in November, 1861.<sup>27</sup> It was estimated that a loan of one million dollars would be sufficient to provide for the speedy construction of the road, and Congress passed an act on February 10, 1862, authorizing the loan.<sup>28</sup> Mr. Davis had expressed the opinion that since the work was "indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the Government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to a work for commercial purposes". Some of the foremost members of Congress thought differently and fought the bill with every available resource; and after its passage they caused to be spread upon the journal a protest against the act as an unwarranted and dangerous violation of the constitution under the guise of military necessity.<sup>29</sup> The actual construction of the road was delayed for more than two years,

<sup>26</sup> Lawton to Sam Tate, October 6, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 178; Lawton to Thomas Peters, November 27, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>27</sup> *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 470.

<sup>28</sup> *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Congress*, p. 258.

<sup>29</sup> *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 731-734, 762-764, 766-770, 781-782. Among the ten who signed the protest were Robert Toombs, who was evidently its author, R. B. Rhett, J. L. M. Curry, W. S. Oldham, and M. J. Crawford. A. H. Stephens voted against the bill but did not sign the protest.

partly by the necessity of completing satisfactory surveys and examining rival routes, partly by the scarcity of labor and material.<sup>30</sup> Connection was established about May 20, 1864.<sup>31</sup> Though flimsy of construction and prolific of wrecks, this road, opened just after the beginning of Lee's desperate struggle with Grant, was of great benefit to the Confederates and became more and more important when later in that year the Weldon railroad was threatened. Another important connection, which was undertaken at about the same time, was that between Meridian, Mississippi, and Selma, Alabama. This would not only greatly shorten the route from Richmond to Vicksburg and New Orleans, but by giving Vicksburg direct communication with central Alabama and Georgia would greatly strengthen that important post. The distance was about one hundred miles, but for about half of this distance a road had already been completed and part of the rest was graded. The company sought an advance of \$150,000 from the government and Mr. Davis recommended it to Congress.<sup>32</sup> An act of February 15, 1862, carried out the recommendation, but it soon was discovered that the sum was insufficient because of the rapidly increasing cost of materials. After many delays this road was completed about the end of 1862.<sup>33</sup> While the last-mentioned bill was before Congress a third was introduced, to lend money to establish a connection between the roads in western Florida and southwestern Georgia, but it failed on third reading.<sup>34</sup> In April, 1862, the first permanent Congress authorized a loan of \$1,500,000 to aid the construction of a line between New Iberia, Louisiana, and Orange, Texas, which would give direct railway connection between Houston and New Orleans and make the resources of Texas available for the defense of the lower Mississippi. The fall of New Orleans shortly afterwards rendered the prosecution of the work useless and it was abandoned.<sup>35</sup> In October, 1862, Congress passed an act which authorized the President to cause a railroad to be constructed between Rome, Georgia, and Blue Mountain, Alabama, and appro-

<sup>30</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 947, 1025-1027, 1085-1087; III. 392-393.

<sup>31</sup> Lawton to Chisman, May 19, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VIII. 237.

<sup>32</sup> Ashe to Davis, November 27 and December 13, 1861, *Pickett Papers*, accession 1910, fol. 108; *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 586.

<sup>33</sup> James L. Price to Randolph, April 10 and 15, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1053, 1060; Gaines to Randolph, April 24 and June 25, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 1089, 1171; Shorter to Randolph, October 27, 1862, *ibid.*, II. 148-149.

<sup>34</sup> *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 819. For the genesis of the bill, see *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 612, 777-779.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1013; *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 238, 361; V. 260, 261, 279; II. 195, 197-199; *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1073; II. 107-108.

priated \$1,122,480.92 for that purpose.<sup>36</sup> Such a road would not only establish a new connection from northern Georgia through central Alabama to the Mississippi, but, more important, would give access to the great iron and coal deposits in Alabama. After much delay, because of the difficulty in procuring iron, construction was begun, but the road was not completed before the end of the war.<sup>37</sup> All of these acts were based upon "military necessity" and all of them were steadily opposed by the ultra-conservative strict-constructionist minority in Congress. Numerous other railway companies made appeals for aid, but no action was taken in their behalf until the beginning of 1865 when, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of War, Breckinridge, and the President, a blanket appropriation was made, March 9, for the construction and repair of railroads for military purposes.<sup>38</sup>

Where and how to procure material for laying tracks, building bridges, and constructing or repairing engines and cars was the most difficult problem of the railroads and it was fundamental to their very existence. Iron and machinery were especially scarce. Before the war these necessities had been supplied from the North: now they must be manufactured or imported from Europe. But few iron mines, smelters, and foundries existed in the South in 1861, and these were small and were soon under contract to their full capacity with the ordnance department. It seemed that if railway foundries or machine shops were necessary, the roads themselves must build them. But it was a serious question whether the average company could afford to build a complete set of shops of its own when it operated only a short line of one hundred to two hundred miles—and some of the most important were even much shorter. The capital required was out of proportion to the size and earning capacity of the road. Moreover, because of the widespread belief that the war would be short, there was at first a natural reluctance to invest large sums in plants which would almost certainly prove unprofitable after the coming of peace.<sup>39</sup> For a group of roads to combine for the purpose involved practical difficulties of management which they were unprepared to solve or even to attempt.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 200–201.

<sup>37</sup> Shorter to Davis, October 25, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 144–146; Campbell to Bragg, April 21, 1864, *ibid.*, III. 312; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 156.

<sup>38</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 1095–1096, 1114; *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, VII. 671, 685, 709, 749. The amount appropriated is not shown in the journal, but \$21,000,000 was recommended. This, however, was in greatly depreciated currency or bonds.

<sup>39</sup> Sims to Lawton, October 23, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 881.

Besides, it was clear that however well supplied with machine shops, the roads would still be helpless so long as the government monopolized the output of iron and continued to conscribe skilled workmen into the army.<sup>40</sup>

For these reasons and because the building of shops and mills, even if determined upon, would take time, the railroad men at first tried to import supplies from Europe. But the growing stringency of the blockade and the lack of well-established commercial or credit relations with European firms made this very difficult. The administration refused to take any part in promoting or financing large mercantile combinations for the purpose of establishing credit accounts in Europe based upon cotton,<sup>41</sup> and the roads were unable to command enough capital, or cotton, and steamboat transportation, independent of government aid, to make importations on their own account. Nor would the government, though frequently appealed to, itself import railroad material for sale to the roads.<sup>42</sup> On one occasion certain Virginia roads were allowed to purchase supplies in England through an agent of the War Department; but the favor was not allowed again, the secretary, Mr. Seddon, explaining that he was unwilling to intervene officially in matters relating "exclusively" to the interest of the railroads.<sup>43</sup> In 1864 the president of a railroad in Mississippi, which was cut off from the sea, obtained military permission to export cotton through the Federal lines and to bring in railroad material in return, but this was exceptional.<sup>44</sup> The total amount of railroad supplies brought in from outside the Confederacy was trifling. If the needed materials were to be had there was only one way left: they must be produced in the Confederacy and the government must aid directly in the work. Early in the war some of the more far-sighted railroad men had pointed out the possibilities of utilizing and improving the railroad shops with government aid and the advantages to the government of contracting

<sup>40</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 881; also, Sims to Lawton, February 10, 1865, *ibid.*, III. 1092.

<sup>41</sup> For one proposition of this character, see D. T. Bisbie to Benjamin, January 16, 1862, *ibid.*, I. 843-845; E. Fontaine to Benjamin, *ibid.*, p. 868.

<sup>42</sup> Resolutions of a railroad convention at Richmond, December 6, 1861, Pickett Papers, accession 1910, fol. 108; Daniel to Seddon, February 12, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 394; also April 22, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 499-510.

<sup>43</sup> Seddon to J. M. Robinson, February 24, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 409; Daniel to Seddon, April 23, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 511; September 30, *ibid.*, pp. 841-842; Seddon to Daniel, October 3, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 852; Daniel to Seddon, October 9, *ibid.*, p. 866.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 381, 388; III. 478, 508, 514, 651.

for cars and engines of its own.<sup>45</sup> The administration, however, for the time preferred to contract with the companies directly for transportation and to leave to them the problem of maintaining the efficiency of their roads. Before 1863 the entire output of most of the shops, foundries, mines, and mills was absorbed by government contracts and except in a few cases—chiefly in Georgia—the roads were without any means of manufacturing even the simplest materials. When the rolling-stock on one road wore out, the transportation officers sought it from other roads and in many cases impressed it. When this hand-to-mouth policy failed, the quartermaster-general contracted for the building of cars for government use; but he was never able to obtain enough, for not only was material lacking but sufficient details of mechanics could not be obtained from the army to carry out any large contract. Special agents and commissioners were detailed to inspect roads, impress, collect, and redistribute rails; and the smaller and less important roads were stripped of both rails and rolling-stock to keep the main lines in operation.<sup>46</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Sims, the superintendent of railroad transportation, made repeated appeals for government aid in the manufacture of supplies, for “men and iron”, but without substantial effect; and on February 10, 1865, we find him lamenting that “not a single bar of railroad iron has been rolled in the Confederacy since [the beginning of] the war, nor can we hope to do any better during the continuance”.<sup>47</sup>

Although forced by military necessity to interfere frequently with the operation of the roads and to exercise an ever-increasing control over them, the Confederate government disclaimed any intention of doing more than to compel the railroad officials, under the contracts which had been made, to give priority to government freight over that of private persons and to expedite shipments.<sup>48</sup> This exaction became a matter of serious concern both to the roads and to private shippers as the traffic grew heavier and the roads

<sup>45</sup> Goodman to Davis, January 25, 1862, *ibid.*, I. 880-882; Neill S. Brown to Benjamin, January 12, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 839; Daniel to Seddon, April 22, 1863, *ibid.*, II. 499-508, 511; Cuyler to Seddon, April 22, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 508-510; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, I. 302 (April 30, 1863).

<sup>46</sup> Seddon to Kenney, July 21, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 655; “Special Orders No. 232”, September 30, 1864, *ibid.*, III. 694; J. F. Gilmer to Breckinridge, February 16, 1865, *ibid.*, p. 1085; Sims to Lawton, February 10, 1865, *ibid.*, pp. 1091-1093; Wallace to Gov. Z. B. Vance, February 6, 1863, Vance's Letter-Book, I. 124, in Confederate Archives, U. S. War Department; Cowan to Vance, September 5, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 568-570.

<sup>47</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 93, 229, 1092.

<sup>48</sup> Randolph to Shorter, November 8, 1862, *ibid.*, II. 175; Myers to Joseph E. Brown, February 11, 1863, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, VI. 6.

weaker. By the end of 1863 there was no room except at intervals for anything but government freight on the main lines. Since Virginia and North Carolina had been stripped bare of provisions, Lee's army was now being supplied from South Carolina and Georgia and the roads to the south of Richmond were overworked. In March, 1864, all passenger trains in North Carolina were stopped for several days to permit the passage of corn to Richmond.<sup>49</sup> The order raised a storm of protests, but the quartermaster-general and the Secretary of War held to it until the stores of corn were brought up. The stopping of passenger trains became a frequent occurrence thereafter and private travel along the roads to Virginia practically ceased. Some communities along the Wilmington and Weldon road were threatened with actual famine because the War Department would not relax the rule of priority in order that they might bring in their own supplies of corn.<sup>50</sup> The rule probably was not enforced with absolute rigidity, because we find that station quartermasters are frequently charged with violating it, and in fact it was claimed that speculators, by the aid of bribes, could usually get their shipments through. All trains running to Wilmington—which was the only seaport left in 1864—were required to take government freight, usually cotton, to at least half of their capacity.<sup>51</sup> The control of transportation gave the quartermaster's department a powerful weapon with which to force manufacturers of cotton goods, especially in North Carolina, to make contracts to furnish the government with cloth—usually at prices below the market rate—for without the consent of the department they could obtain no shipments of raw cotton.<sup>52</sup>

Time-honored conventional theories about the limitation of the functions of government had begun even early in the war to give way before the pressure of imperious military necessity. As the responsible government officials had been led to interfere more and more in railroad affairs in order to sustain the armies at the front, it became increasingly evident that the railroad companies, if left to themselves, either could not or would not render the service which the government must have. While most of the obstacles to efficiency lay in conditions for which the roads were not to blame,

<sup>49</sup> Lawton to Vance, Cameron, Echols, and Lee, March 11, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VIII. 91; and to various others, March 16, 18, 30, and April 7, 12, *ibid.*, pp. 97, 101, 131, 152, 160.

<sup>50</sup> Lawton to W. A. Graham, June 8, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>51</sup> Lawton to J. W. Cameron, December 11, 1863, *ibid.*, VII. 420; Lawton to Davis, September 20, 1864, *ibid.*, IX. 129.

<sup>52</sup> Lawton to W. G. Ferguson, September 12, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 96.



there were others which the railroad officials themselves seemed to raise. But in some cases it is not easy to censure them. For instance, when every company was trying anxiously to husband its scanty supply of rolling-stock it was only natural that it should resist every attempt to have its cars run on through to Richmond or other distant destination and should insist on breaking bulk and reloading at its own terminus.<sup>53</sup> And it is hardly surprising that the commission of army officers appointed to collect and redistribute railroad iron should find "every possible impediment" thrown in its way and its efforts often defeated.<sup>54</sup> As the freight rates paid by the government were far below those for private business, railroad officials connived with civilians to forward freight for the latter even at the cost of holding up army supplies. Disagreements between the various companies frequently caused needless delays and unnecessary diversion to roundabout routes. Those roads which were owned in whole or in part by states were especially troublesome because they took refuge behind the authority of the state. The most conspicuous was the Western and Atlantic of Georgia, championed by Gov. Joe Brown; but certain roads in North Carolina and Florida also took a very independent course.<sup>55</sup> In all these cases the Confederate authorities found themselves helpless because the government was unwilling to incur the odium of overriding state authority.

The first quartermaster-general, Myers, had steadily opposed the assumption of governmental control over the railways.<sup>56</sup> It seems that when Sims became head of the railroad bureau in 1863 he held similar views, but by April, 1864, he said:

That the railroads should come under military control I am becoming every day more satisfied. There seems to be a desire to work for the road's interest rather than sacrifice all convenience for the country's cause. . . . Greater harmony would doubtless produce better results, but

<sup>53</sup> In respect to this the roads were sustained by both Colonel Sims and General Lawton. See *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 228; and Lawton to Davis, September 20, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, IX. 129.

<sup>54</sup> Report of Gilmer to Breckinridge, February 16, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 1085.

<sup>55</sup> For correspondence relative to condition of the Western and Atlantic Railroad see *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. LII., pt. 2, pp. 593, 596, 601, 607-608, 616, 621-623; vol. XXXII., pt. 2, pp. 591; for Florida Railroad, *ibid.*, LIII. 350-359, 362-364; for North Carolina roads, Cowan to Vance, February 13, 1864, Vance's *Letter-Book*, I. 458-462; Vance to Gilmer, *ibid.*, p. 552; Gilmer to Vance, *ibid.*, p. 561; Cowan to Vance, *ibid.*, pp. 568, 571; Cowan to Gilmer, *ibid.*, p. 570; Vance to Gilmer, *ibid.*, p. 572.

<sup>56</sup> Myers to Davis, January 31, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 896; Myers to Chilton, October 3, 1862, *ibid.*, II. 108.

this I fear can never be obtained until a Government officer manages every road.<sup>57</sup>

President Davis probably never seriously considered the idea of subjecting any of the railroads, except in a military exigency, to complete control by the government. His few references to the subject in his messages to Congress are almost casual and indicate that beyond delegating a general supervision of the government's interests to Wadley, Sims, and the quartermaster-general, to be enforced by threat of impressment, he was unprepared to go.<sup>58</sup> Nor was the majority of Congress at first willing to go very far in this direction. On August 21, 1861, a bill was introduced from the committee on military affairs "authorizing the President to regulate and take control of railroads in certain cases", but it failed to become a law.<sup>59</sup> In January, 1862, a special committee which had been appointed to examine into the various divisions of the War Department recommended, among other things, that military control be taken of all railroads terminating in or passing through Richmond, Nashville, Memphis, and Atlanta, or leading to the headquarters of the several army corps, and that they be placed under an efficient superintendent.<sup>60</sup> This recommendation was without immediate result, but in the first session of the permanent Congress the House of Representatives passed a bill "to provide for the safe and expeditious transportation of troops and munitions of war by railroads".<sup>61</sup> It directed the President to appoint "a military chief of railroad transportation", who should be selected from the railroad officials, and provided that the regular officials of each road should be given a stated rank, should be left as far as possible in charge of their own roads, but be subject to the orders of the chief and liable to court martial for neglect of duty.<sup>62</sup> The bill was referred in the Senate to the Committee on Military Affairs, was reported without amendment on April 21, the last day of the session, and failed for want of time to come up for passage. Although other bills of this general character were introduced, none became

<sup>57</sup> Sims to Lawton, April 1, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 228.

<sup>58</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I. 139, 152, 236, 295. See also report of Secretary of War (Seddon), January 3, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 293.

<sup>59</sup> *Journal of Cong. of the Conf. St.*, I. 379.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 721.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 251-254. For earlier suggestions see *ibid.*, p. 122, and II. 87 (Senate).

<sup>62</sup> For a protest against the bill, see *Journal*, V. 269. The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 24, 1862, endorsed the protest and denounced the bill as a "usurpation".

law until February, 1865, when finally an act was passed which authorized the Secretary of War to place any railroad, canal, or telegraph line under such officers as he should designate, to place the regular railroad officials, agents, and employees under these officers on the same footing as soldiers in the field, and to maintain any road in repair or to give it any necessary aid. Provision was made for reimbursing the road for any damage sustained while in the hands of the government.<sup>63</sup> Whether this measure would ever have proved effective may be doubted, for it did not insure an improvement in the material condition of the roads, and death-bed resolutions are somewhat unconvincing.

For more than a year before the end came the railroads were in such a wretched condition that a complete breakdown seemed always imminent. As the tracks wore out on the main lines they were replenished by despoiling the branch lines; but while the expedient of feeding the weak roads to the more important afforded the latter some temporary sustenance, it seriously weakened the armies, since it steadily reduced the area from which supplies could be drawn. The rolling-stock, replenished in the same way, wore out so fast that some roads were nearly destitute of cars and engines. It is very difficult to get precise information about particular roads in 1864, but from scattered statements of Quartermaster-General Lawton it appears that on the roads from Georgia to Richmond not more than two or three trains per day could be run at the rate of one hundred miles per day and less. Despite the low rate of speed, accidents were frequent and helped to block the tracks. On one occasion Lawton declared it impossible for cars to be run through from Columbus, Georgia, to Charlotte, North Carolina, a distance of approximately five hundred miles, because they would break down on the way if not repaired.<sup>64</sup> From the winter of 1863-1864 Lee's army had to draw its supplies from South Carolina and southern Georgia, a distance of from five hundred to nearly a thousand miles, and it rarely had more than two or three days' supply of food ahead. No surplus could be accumulated and as time wore on the supply became scantier. By the end of summer the roads could not bring enough, with the utmost exertions and even when unhampered by the enemy, to feed the men and horses half rations. Indeed it is hard to see how Lee could have maintained his army in Virginia for another year, even if Grant had been content to watch

<sup>63</sup> *Journal*, VII. 584-587, 607, 707; IV. 571, 573-574. The act was approved February 28, 1865.

<sup>64</sup> Lawton to Davis, September 20, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, IX. 129.

him peaceably from a distance. And yet Lee's army was starving not because there was no food in the Confederacy, for it was plentiful in many portions of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, but because the railroads simply could not carry enough of it. Over and over again Lawton declares that "transportation is scarcer than provisions".<sup>65</sup> Corn brought in Richmond twenty and twenty-five times as much as it sold for in southwest Georgia.<sup>66</sup> When this region was cut off and the remnant of the feeble roads wrecked by Sherman's destructive march through Georgia and the Carolinas, the stoppage of all supplies followed, and the long struggle was over.

It would be claiming too much to say that the failure to solve its railroad problem was the cause of the Confederacy's downfall, yet it is impossible not to conclude that the solution of that problem was one of the important conditions of success.<sup>67</sup> The failure to solve it was due partly to the industrial unpreparedness of the South, partly to the shortsighted policy of leaving the task of maintenance entirely to the stockholders, although depriving them of the use of workmen and materials, partly to the apparent inability to comprehend the essentially public character and responsibility of the roads, and partly to an ingrained abhorrence of extending the activities of the general government into the field reserved to the states or to private enterprise. Had the Confederate government been able at the outset to adopt measures with respect to its railroads as vigorous and far-sighted as it did for its ordnance department, it seems certain that the roads would have been maintained and improved, and the effective resources of the Southern people and the strength of their armies would have been tremendously increased.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

<sup>65</sup> Lawton to Maj. J. G. Michaeloffsky, Macon, Ga., January 19, 1864, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, VII. 543; Captain Seals, Fort Gaines, to McMahon, February 9, 1864, *ibid.*, VIII. 18.

<sup>66</sup> *Daily Examiner*, February 25, 1864.

<sup>67</sup> So keen an observer as William M. Burwell believed that the deficiencies in transportation aggravated the currency troubles. *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 226-227.

## THE PHILIPPINES SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY<sup>1</sup>

THIS paper is not intended to be an exhaustive treatise of events in the Philippine Islands since the convening of the first Philippine legislature in 1907, but aims to offer only a few comments and suggestions. Throughout I have sedulously endeavored not to dogmatize, for the period covered is too close for a well-rounded study, and much of the history of these brief nine years marks a decided departure from the preceding three centuries of Philippine history before 1898, and it is too early to risk one's reputation as a prophet. I have consciously tried to be conservative, and have hesitated to form hard and fast judgments, for there is much prejudice and passion intermingled in the whole Philippine question among the various factions, both American and Filipino.

Obviously, present tendencies in the Philippines can be understood more clearly if something be known of the past history of the archipelago; or in other words, the present-day Filipino, with his new opportunities, can be understood better if something be known of the Filipino of bygone centuries. Racial characteristics are, on the whole, fairly stable and tend to persist, and this has been so in the Philippines to a remarkable degree. The peoples who migrated in successive waves to the islands later to be called the Philippines were of Malayan stock, though, doubtless, at the periods of migration there were already admixtures of other bloods of the Asiatic mainland and islands. For convenience, although it might not be absolutely correct, the Malayan peoples of the Philippine group, with the greater or less Negrito or aboriginal mixture, might be called the Philippine stock. At best, the nomenclature that must yet be employed in respect to the Philippine peoples is awkward. The term "Filipino" is used rightly when speaking of the descendants of the eight peoples who were Christianized by the Spaniards. They are, in general, almost as distinct in race as are the Romance nations, but present-day tendencies are rapidly breaking down racial barriers, and the trend is toward a homogeneous people. The Moros, who are Mohammedans, and the so-called wild or pagan peoples, who live chiefly in Luzon and Mindanao, are called non-

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 30, 1916.

Christians. However, the tendency is toward a simpler and more exact terminology, and the day is approaching when the term "Filipino" will include all the Malayan peoples in the archipelago.

Three distinct lines of influence—not necessarily of blood mixture—have acted upon the Philippine stock. These have proceeded from China, from Spain, and from the United States. The impress of each is plainly visible, although that of the Chinese, who were the first great teachers, is perhaps the hardest to grasp, for it was more intimate, being Oriental, and tended to a less divergence from the original stock, while those of the Spaniards and Americans are Occidental and dynamic. The Spanish contact, which was limited largely to the Filipino proper, has been very far-reaching, for it has given to an Oriental population many Occidental qualities. Most important of all, Spanish contact has produced a Christian population—a unique achievement—although on the mass of the common people Christianity has been an overlay on the old native superstitions and beliefs. At the same time Spanish contact has performed a valuable service in preserving the native peoples of the Philippine Islands. The last influence—that of the United States—seems to be making for control and stability, with a consequent increased power in meeting the conditions of modern life. To an unexampled degree, the United States is carrying forward an evolution first started by Spain—an evolution that is not only political but social and economic as well.

While it is true, as no less an authority than the eminent Spanish-Filipino mestizo, Dr. Pardo de Tavera, says, that the Filipinos have reached their present state with less self-initiative than most other peoples, still they possess certain traits that seem to have been unchanged for so long that they may safely be called racial characteristics, and these must be taken into account in any contact with them. For instance, their idealistic temperament seems to be innate, although Christianity has probably tended to foster it. They are precocious when young, adaptable, and easily influenced, this last a factor which led to their rapid Christianization, but which sometimes made them the prey of impudent impostors. They revere age, respect customs, are apt at times to be revengeful, and as strongly as the Chinese, have an instinct for "saving their face". They are exceedingly sensitive to criticism, and have a vanity coupled with a wonderful self-assurance that might be mistaken for experience. They are hospitable to a degree, pleasure-loving, poetic, often impractical, lavish spenders, fond of display. The masses are full of superstitions and all the people readily become

suspicious. They are more easily led than forced. The slavish obedience which the masses formerly gave to their chiefs when the Spaniards first lifted the veil that hid them from the West, is the source of what is called *caciqueism*—which simply means “bossism”—and this last is a factor which must be reckoned with in their political life of to-day.

It is premised, of course, that the Filipinos are a civilized people, although in the farthest outlying districts the civilization is not of so high a type as in the metropolis and in the more accessible provinces. Society from very olden times, however, was marked off sharply into two classes—an upper and a lower, or those who ruled and those who obeyed. Spanish control did not tend to change this to any great extent, although even in Spanish days the insistent attacks of modern ideas were beginning to make inroads and to presage the formation of a public opinion. To-day, the system of the upper class—*ilustrados*—and of the masses—*gente baja*—is seeing the real entrance of a third class—a great middle class—from which unquestionably, if it be allowed to persist, will come power and stability. Among the Filipinos are many cultivated ladies and gentlemen, whom it is a delight to know and to number among one's friends. The judgment of many of them can be accepted unreservedly. Of the common people, it is safe to say that no future generation, if the present norm be maintained, will present the same dense ignorance in many directions as have the generations which are now passing from the stage.

When the outbreak of hostilities with Spain led the United States into the Philippines, the Filipinos were found to be quite thoroughly touched with the leaven of discontent against existing conditions. It cannot be said that that discontent has entirely vanished. The Tagalog people, the dominant race of the island of Luzon, are, of all the races of the archipelago, perhaps the most restless. The insurrection against Spain under their leadership became a fiercer revolt against the United States. Agitation has been constant in one form or another since the quelling of the revolt.

The Filipinos, at the opening of the twentieth century, were practically without any adequate previous legislative training. The several periods of readjustment in Spain and its colonies during the first part of the nineteenth century, when participation in the Spanish Cortes was granted to Filipinos, found them, quite naturally, unfitted and, on the whole, unwilling to exercise the duties thrust upon them. Their political training was limited in general to



closely-supervised semi-participation in municipal or provincial government. Educational instruction, moreover, in the closing days of Spanish control, notwithstanding the brave showing made on paper, was limited largely to the people of the upper classes. Some Spaniards had, indeed, recognized the needs of the Philippines. Sinibaldo de Mas, Spanish plenipotentiary to China, who was ordered to investigate and to make a special report on the Philippines, advised secretly that special legislative training be given to Filipinos, in order to provide quietly for Spanish withdrawal. The report was pigeonholed. It must be remembered always that the ecclesiastical power was generally strong enough throughout Spain's control of the Philippines to block any measure not considered advisable by the religious orders.

With the entrance of the United States, the whole scene was changed. In accordance with American ideals, a freer government was instituted, and almost immediately Filipinos were given a share in their own control, a policy that has been adhered to in an ever-increasing degree. State and religion were dissociated, but it was found in many localities that both people and clergy had to be educated up to the change. Educational measures were taken even when the Filipinos were in arms against the new government, and these had almost instant response from the people.

Counting the military government and its successor, the civil government under the Philippine Commission, as marking one period, there have been two full periods since the United States assumed control of the Philippine Islands, and now a third period has begun. The second period, with which this paper is mainly concerned, extended from October 16, 1907, to October 16, 1916, exactly nine years.

The events leading up to the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly are too well known to require any extended review. The pacification of the archipelago had so well progressed under the constructive military government and its successor, the civil government, that Congress, in the "Organic Act" of 1902 for the temporary government of the Philippines, provided for a popular assembly, to be called the Philippine Assembly. This was to constitute the lower house of the Philippine legislature, and to be chosen by a general election two years after the publication of a census of the Philippine Islands. The census was published in 1905. The general election—the first in the history of the Philippines—was held on July 30, 1907. The eighty delegates, who were elected on a population basis and by a restricted franchise, con-

sisted of six parties, namely, thirty-two Nacionalistas, four Independistas, seven Inmediatistas, sixteen Progresistas, twenty Independents, and one Centro-Católico. Only two of these parties, the Nacionalistas and the Progresistas, have survived. There was some fraud in the election and a number of contested seats. Thirty-four provinces participated in the election, the city of Manila, although in some respects governed like the city of Washington, being regarded in elections as a province and having the franchise.

With the convening of the Philippine legislature, October 16, 1907, the Philippine Commission, which until that time had been the sole law-making power, acting by and under the authority of Congress, became the upper house of the legislature for all legislation affecting the thirty-four provinces voting for delegates to the assembly. With regard to the Moro Province and the other non-Christian provinces, the commission continued to exercise exclusive jurisdiction. Tenure of office in the assembly was at first two years, but this was later extended to four years. The regular sessions of the legislature, which were to be held annually, were not to exceed ninety working days. Special sessions might not exceed thirty days. The Organic Act provided also for the biennial election (later made quadrennial) by the two houses of the Philippine legislature, each house voting separately, of two resident commissioners to the United States. In Washington, these commissioners were given seats on the floor of the House with privilege of debate, but no vote.

After the convening of the first legislature, the machinery of government, with the addition of the Philippine Assembly, remained practically as before. The executive powers were vested in a governor-general, who was appointed by the President of the United States and, as president of the Philippine Commission, also had legislative powers. Four of the members of the commission, in addition to the governor-general, were secretaries at the head of executive departments. The other members had no portfolio. On the governor-general directly depended certain bureaus of the government, while the other bureaus and officers, in number about twenty-five, were under the four commissioners with portfolio. The departments were those of Public Instruction, the secretary of which was also vice-governor, the Interior, Justice and Finance, and Commerce and Police. The commission held both executive and legislative sessions. The lower house possessed powers analogous to those of the House of Representatives. The judiciary was composed of a supreme court, with both original and appellate jurisdiction, the members of which were appointed by the President of the

United States; courts of first instance, the judges of which were appointed by the governor-general; and courts of justices of the peace. Final legislative authority lay, of course, in Congress, and final judicial authority in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Each province was in charge of a governor, who was elected by the voters of his province. He was aided by a provincial board of three, including himself. The second member of the board was the provincial treasurer, but this official has quite recently been replaced by an elective member. The third member was at first appointed by the governor-general, but was later elected. Municipalities, which correspond more nearly to our townships than to towns, were governed by a president, vice-president, and municipal council. The city of Manila had a special charter, with mayor and municipal council.

This in brief was the governmental machinery during the period especially under discussion. The policy of the United States was from the first one of Filipinization. Prior to 1907 the commission was composed partly of Filipinos. For several years prior to 1913, when Filipinos were granted a majority of the members of the commission, there had been four Filipinos in that body. The first Filipino with portfolio was appointed in 1908. The assembly has from the beginning been solidly Filipino. The supreme court is composed of seven justices, of whom three, including the chief justice, are Filipinos. There have always been very few provincial and municipal officials other than Filipinos. On opening the Philippine legislature on October 16, 1907, Mr. Taft, then secretary of war, said:

The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As the policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the Islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantages to the islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed.

No later announcement of policy has gone beyond this. General Smith, the then governor-general, on the same day, said:

On the Philippine Assembly, more than on any other branch of the Philippine Government, depends the future of the Philippine Islands, and on the energy, the earnestness, the devotion to duty, the self-sacrifice, the unselfishness, and above all things, the entire conservatism and sane judgment of its members, depends the realization of the hopes and the ideals of the Filipino people. If this Assembly fails of its purpose, the peoples who have looked to it to demonstrate their capacity to legislate

wisely and well will have just reason to regret that the high privilege of participating in the making of the laws to govern themselves was ever conceded. If, on the other hand, success attends it, and all the circumstances considered, the product of its labors compares not unfavorably with that of other legislative bodies, no names will shine brighter on the pages of Philippine history than those of the members of the first Philippine Assembly.

Naturally, there was considerable doubt among Americans as to the wisdom of the establishment of the Philippine Assembly. Some thought, and still think, that its creation was premature; others that its creation at all was poor policy. European nations, with colonies in the Orient, from self-interest have not been enthusiastic. There are, however, two great justifications for the creation of the assembly: namely, that it was in keeping with American ideals and traditions to allow as much self-government as possible; and that experience is the best teacher. The only valid objections that could be raised to it, if American ideas were to prevail, were the prospect of loss of efficiency in government, and the fear of treasonable plots against the sovereignty of the United States. The loss in efficiency of government, and it is conceivable that there has been some, has been more than offset by the effect on the country at large, for the assembly has undoubtedly cemented the different peoples into a more homogeneous unit, thus tending to make legislation universal instead of sectional. The fear of conspiracy has not been unduly realized. There has been extremely little of the "Woe to the conquered" spirit from Americans, and the slogan "The Philippines for the Filipinos" has been real. The two chief political parties in the United States have differed on the rapidity with which Filipinization should take place. Neither party has subscribed to the objection raised by a few persons that too free a hand has been allowed to people who have recently been in active revolt against the United States.

On the whole the result has been better than the most ardent advocates of the measure had hoped. There has been no disaster. There has even been considerable constructive legislation. On the other hand, the lower house has considered and passed some immature and unwise measures, from the effects of which the Philippines have been saved either by the more mature members of the assembly or by the refusal of the Philippine Commission to concur in the recommendations of the lower house.

The possession of a popular assembly has tended to increase Filipino vanity, which has never been small. An extremely sensi-

tive people, they have keenly resented any imputation that the science of government is not as well understood in the Philippines as in any other country. The period, less than two decades, since the cessation of Spanish control, has been sufficient for this adaptable people to take on the trappings of government in a remarkable manner. The greater solidity must come only with many years of experience. It is extremely doubtful whether any Oriental people with as little previous training could have done as well. Of course it is true that a free rein has not been given. The result might have been different without the constant American supervision, suggestion, and help. Pressure has been exerted by the governor-general and by the Philippine Commission, and legislation in the Philippine Assembly has been suggested and guided by bureau chiefs and others. In the end, all the acts of the legislature were reviewable by the Congress of the United States, and although Congress has not invalidated any act of the Philippine legislature, the power to do so has constituted a check.

Yet, though the assembly at times felt the whip from above, it sometimes refused to dance. Three successive times the legislature failed to pass the annual budget, because the assembly would not agree to the terms proposed by the commission. A notable deadlock between the two houses occurred over the election of one of the resident commissioners to the United States. The irrigation measure was held up for at least two sessions. From the first, the assembly went on record as desiring political independence, and many bills, resolutions, and petitions were drawn up in regard to it.

Educational measures always received hearty support. Indeed, the first bill passed by the assembly was for the establishment of schools. On the other hand, the assembly was always suspicious of the civil service, and repeatedly attempted to cripple its working. Suspicion also rested on the constabulary or insular police and on the health propaganda. The system of public improvements, especially of roads and bridges, was on the whole well supported. Agricultural measures, including those for the campaigns against animal diseases and locusts, were adopted. An agricultural bank was established in 1908, but it never had the full effect expected, because many of the farmers who applied for loans could not prove clear titles to their lands. The sugar industry was aided by an appropriation for a sugar-testing laboratory. Other laws sought to establish the Manila hemp and tobacco industries on a better basis. Regulations for the creation and operation of rural agricultural societies were made. Regulations of agencies recruiting labor for the sugar

plantations of Hawaii were made, for labor has never been abundant in the archipelago. To the credit of the legislature, there were also an employers' liability act, a pure food and drug act, more drastic than that of any country, and an act directed against fraudulent advertising, and these laws have been well administered. Insurance was regulated by another law.

There were very few bureaus or offices that the assembly did not attempt to reorganize. It had a freer hand, perhaps, in those of agriculture, health, and lands. The bureau of labor was always composed entirely of Filipinos. Attacks were insistent against all the other bureaus on the pretext of extravagance, or that the personnel was not being Filipinized rapidly enough, or on other grounds.

With the change of administration in 1913, the grant of increased power in the Philippine Commission, so that the Filipinos for the first time had a majority in that body, brought about a greater rapprochement of the commission and assembly. For this reason, the three years following October, 1913, saw more constructive legislation than any other period of like duration, although it remains yet to see the wisdom of much that was done. The two most far-reaching acts of the legislature in this period were the establishment of a Philippine National Bank, with a capital stock of \$10,000,000, of which \$5,050,000 were to be subscribed for by the government; and the purchase by the government of the Manila Railway Company. The old agricultural bank has been absorbed by the Philippine National Bank, to which wide powers have been granted. The opposition Filipino press has not failed to complain that although the arguments in favor of the enactment of the bank act enumerated the benefits to be obtained by Filipinos, yet the first loan of the new institution was made to an American corporation, while Filipinos who desire loans cannot secure them. The purchase of the railroads has been criticized by the same press as an unjustifiable extravagance and as mortgaging the resources of the government for many years to come; and these critics ask what advantage has been gained if the road is to be leased to a private company. Moreover, it has been charged that the purchase was made in the interest of British stockholders who could no longer raise the necessary money to run the road.

After 1913, Filipinization of the more responsible government positions was more rapid than previously. In 1916, nine bureaus had Filipino directors, and in almost all branches of the government Filipinos displaced Americans who were either discharged or

who resigned on request or voluntarily. As might be expected, there has been a consistent Filipino demand for the positions held by Americans. The charge of the disorganization of the civil service after 1913 is partly borne out. Undoubtedly, however, a number of the separations or forced resignations were justifiable. The number of Americans in the government service was, and is, being decreased by the operation of a pension act passed in 1916 after its annual recommendation for over a half-dozen years.

There was little healthy party life in the assembly. The Nacionalistas always formed the majority and the Progresistas the minority, but there was no sharply drawn line of division. Several years ago, a faction of the Nacionalistas, styling itself the "Tercero Partido" or Third Party, split from the parent stem, and tried to enroll the labor vote, acting partly as an independent party. However, since all the parties were united, in one form or another, in their demands for political independence from the United States, and since the independence campaign was made the most important part of political life, it is easily understood that there was little ground for actual and radical difference.

Notwithstanding the Filipino majority in the commission after 1913, the governor-general continued to exert considerable influence on legislation. This was due in large part to the fact that the Filipinos of all parties considered the Democratic victory in Washington as a distinct political gain for the Philippines. The Filipino members of the commission frequently acted with most commendable restraint, although considerable pressure was brought to bear from the assembly or from private sources. The two houses were not always in accord and this opposition between the two bodies tended to increase as the first glamor of a new administration wore away.

In the commission acting in its legislative capacity for the non-Christians, no act has been more important for its bearing on the future than that in 1914 reorganizing the Moro Province into the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. By this act the military governor of the old Moro Province was superseded by a civil governor with wide powers. It should be noted that this district was in charge of a sub-governor for part of the period of Spanish control, so that the change is not an entirely new departure. The success that has been obtained is in large part owing to the tact and ability of the present governor, who had been the executive secretary in Manila for a number of years. His has not been an easy task, namely, to bring a restless and suspicious Mohammedan popula-



tion into peaceful relations with the Christian Filipinos. It is too early to speak of results as lasting, but an evolution, built partly upon previous American efforts and some Filipino co-operation, seems to have been started. The religious barrier is one that is not easily overcome.

In the Mountain Province in Luzon, very decided progress was made during the nine years after 1907. The building of trails and other improvements begun some years before was continued. The effect of these improvements and of other measures adopted by the government has been striking. The old tribal and community feuds are being forgotten and head-hunting is becoming obsolete. This has required tactful work by the men placed in charge of these peoples. It is due to these men that the various tribes are trading quietly together, are moving along the mountain trails without weapons, are building the trails themselves, and perhaps most remarkable of all, that symbolism is taking the place of century-long custom. These wild men are fine, strong peoples, and if they can be assimilated with the Filipinos, will prove an important element of strength. They, as well as the Moros, are not entirely without suspicion of their Christian neighbors, who as opportunity has offered in the past have not been averse to exploiting them.

Some years ago Filipinos, smarting under the fact that exhibitions in the United States of wild people from the Mountain Province (who are not Filipinos at all) caused many Americans to believe that all the inhabitants of the Philippines (including the Filipinos) are a race of naked, uncivilized savages, urged the government to discourage the taking of wild people abroad for exhibition purposes. For the same reason, ethnological work among these people was discontinued, and this is a decided loss. The ban was also placed on printing and exhibiting pictures of "wild people" unless they were properly clad, lest they be taken for Filipinos. Some Filipinos as well started a campaign to induce the wild people to wear the usual garments of civilization. This whole matter might seem ridiculous, but to the Filipino, who is sensitive to a degree, and who moreover is not quite sure of himself, it is very serious. One good result is beginning to appear. The Filipino is acquiring some missionary spirit and is trying to give the non-Christians the opportunities which he himself enjoys under the American régime, and which he hopes some day to enjoy under his own government. The movement is a thoroughly selfish one; the Filipinos are in it for what they can get out of it; but there is a seriousness in it that augurs well. Great care must be exercised, for one serious error

may jeopardize the relations between the Filipinos and their "wild" neighbors.

In the provincial and municipal governments, the tendency has been toward a greater degree of local self-government. The provincial council, for instance, is now entirely elective. Half the established taxes of the provinces accrue to the provincial treasuries. Any province may remit its half, but the fifty per cent. belonging to the central government must be collected. Since such remission means a practically empty treasury, few provinces have exercised this privilege. The central government found it necessary in the case of the municipalities to limit the amount of municipal funds that might be spent on salaries, for most of the municipalities found themselves with very small balances or no balance at all after the official salaries had been paid, a condition that boded ill for public improvements. In both provinces and municipalities, suspension from office has tended to decrease. The most frequent cause for arrest and suspension of officials has been abuse of authority and neglect of duty. There has been some misappropriation of public funds and some other crimes, but on the whole not so much as might have been expected. Since the fee system has been done away with, and a regular salary paid to the justices of the peace, there has been less trouble with these officials, who have been among the most frequent offenders.

The matter of government finances during the period under consideration constitutes an intricate subject, and little will be said of it here. It needs careful study, and might well be the subject of a doctoral thesis. The Philippine government is self-supporting. The United States pays only those expenses that are rightly its own, namely, those incurred by the army and navy in the Philippines, part of the expenses of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the Philippines, the salaries of the two resident commissioners to the United States and expenses incident thereto, and perhaps a few others. Most of the money required for government comes from some form of taxation. The per capita tax is low in comparison with that of most countries, being less than two dollars, though it shows a tendency to mount higher as the cost of government increases.

The two chief and most universal sources of taxation are the *cédula* or poll tax and the land tax. The first is an old Spanish form of taxation continued with some changes, and is imposed on all males between eighteen and fifty-five. Each full *cédula* costs one dollar annually, but the provinces may collect only one-half this amount if they elect, provided that there be no discrimination.

There was no land tax in Spanish times, that imposed by the Philippine Commission shortly after the establishment of civil government being the first one in the Philippines. It bears equally on rich and poor, this being one of the reasons for its imposition. Money has also been raised by the usual excise duties, by a stamp tax, by a questionable tax on business, which has tended to increase, and by rather stringent taxes on mineral output.

The other main sources of income have been customs duties on foreign imports, a questionable export duty (abolished by the Underwood Tariff Act), wharfage charges, and quite recently a tax on ship tonnage. The Payne Bill of 1909, granting free trade with the United States, stimulated business, but it was feared would decrease the revenues. However, the decrease did not occur immediately, largely because of rice importations made necessary because of short crops. Since the beginning of the present war, an internal revenue emergency measure has sought to supply any decrease in customs receipts.

Insular government receipts and expenditures in 1915 were little short of \$14,000,000 each, with the balance on the safe side, but expenditures show a tendency to increase rather than to diminish, now that the first enthusiasm of a new administration to lessen expenditures has worn off. Cost of government in the Philippines is not excessive, but as the amount of possible revenue is limited by the economic development, chiefly agricultural, expenditures must be governed by this fact. In several instances there was an excess of expenditures over receipts, caused partly by extensive public improvements. Some unwise expenditure occurred during the period ending with the change of administration in 1913, chief of which was the continual drain incident to the building and repair of the road between the lowlands and the summer capital. Prudence should earlier have dictated the abandonment of a road which at every heavy rain was liable to partial or complete destruction, and the surveying of a new route. On the other hand, it is probable that the saving in salaries by the new administration and the rapid Filipinization of the higher offices carried with them some loss in efficiency. It seems also that the creation of a high-salaried public utilities commission might have been avoided; while, as above seen, the wisdom of the creation of a "national" bank and the purchase of the railroad have been seriously questioned even by Filipinos.

The volume of trade tended to increase. The operation of the Payne Act and the war made the Philippines more dependent commercially on the United States. The first months of the war quite

demoralized shipping and economic disaster threatened. But in 1915 so good was the recovery that the import and export trade of \$103,000,000 showed a trade balance of \$4,500,000 on the right side, though there is little doubt that the balance would have been reversed in normal times. In the Philippines themselves, there have been many opportunities for business, but American capital has been slow in investing, both because of the failure of Congress to establish a fixed policy, and because of the often hostile Filipino attitude toward outside capital. The reluctance was increased by the continued growth of the independence agitation. The Payne Act directed attention to the Philippines as a profitable source of investment, but with little result. It is an interesting commentary that the Chinese pay the largest part of the internal revenue, while both Filipinos and Spaniards precede the Americans, who pay less than half a million. Effectual incorporations show capital stock of about \$75,000,000, of which about \$40,000,000 is subscribed, and only about \$30,000,000 paid in. The best business men are the Chinese, who apparently "get" the business where men of other nationalities fail. Of later years there has been an insistent and increasing inroad of Japanese capital—a fact that has not tended to put to rest the fears that have been expressed in certain quarters regarding American-Japanese relations. Already the Japanese control much of the fisheries and the pearl fisheries, and have entered the sugar and timber fields quite extensively, besides other industries.

The full development of the Philippines was never a Spanish policy, and Filipinos were not encouraged to develop their own country to any great extent. Many Filipinos, lacking capital or initiative themselves, have looked askance at foreign capital, apparently being unwilling that others should reap where they themselves cannot or do not sow; though there are notable exceptions to this. Assertions of the Filipino press that Filipinos will welcome foreign capital have not been wholly able to remove the suspicion of investors. There is no doubt that American capital would have come forward, if at any time since 1902 Congress had declared that the American flag would stay in the Philippines, although Americans as a rule have not favored exploitation. The passage of the Jones Act may, indeed, prove a stimulus to the investment of American capital, but this seems rather remote in the face of possible Filipino restriction from a legislature composed wholly of Filipinos, and the fear of an imbroglio in the Far East.

The land question in the Philippines has always constituted a problem. There is an immense amount of public land, consisting

of agricultural, timber, and mining lands. Homesteads of about forty acres were allowed by the Organic Act of 1902, but recommendations were repeatedly made for an increase to about 125 acres, and for private purchase of about 1200 acres. A further recommendation was that corporations be allowed to purchase about 15,000 acres instead of the approximately 2500 provided by the Organic Act. There has been much confusion in land titles, and many squatters on public land. The cadastral survey and land registration are reducing the problem, but it still exists. Filipinos have not been homesteading as much as was expected, though there is a continual increase in this direction.

The friar lands, for the purchase of which \$7,000,000 worth of bonds had been issued, have formed a problem quite distinct from that of regular public lands. It was provided that the bonds with accrued interest be met from the sale of the lands. Unsold lands, consequently, continually increase in value by a false ratio, and, naturally, a point will be reached, is probably now reached, where such lands will not be sold so long as other and, in many cases, better land can be purchased more cheaply. These lands are not subject to the same conditions respecting sale as regular public lands, and may legally be sold in blocks of any size. The sale of the San José estate in Mindoro (about 59,000 acres), to a single purchaser, called forth an investigation by Congress in 1910 regarding the administration of these lands, in which the instigators, probably incited thereto by Filipinos who were hostile to foreign capital, tried to prove that such sales were illegal. Although the sale was declared valid, it became the policy of the administration to adhere more closely to conditions governing the sale of regular public land. There has been no tendency to create large landed estates, though, with all restriction removed, this might arise. The one pertinent fact in regard to all public land is that the Filipinos themselves have neglected its development and yet have often employed a dog-in-the-manger attitude toward foreigners who would develop it. Consequently, agricultural capital, which might have been employed under different conditions, has sought other outlets.

The agricultural problem was constant throughout the period. Agriculture must always remain the chief source of wealth of the Philippines, but it is still very backward, notwithstanding the many measures taken for its relief. The revolt against Spain and the United States, and animal diseases had reduced agriculture to a low ebb. It is slowly recovering, but only time can bring this vast source of wealth to anything like its due fruition. Native standards

are changing. Wants are multiplying. What was good enough for Juan's father is not good enough for Juan. This incentive is constituting a large factor in the development that is slowly beginning to appear. Tobacco, sugar, Manila hemp, and copra are increasingly being converted into the realization of present needs which but yesterday were luxuries. The Bureau of Agriculture has had to meet opposition from both farmer and political agitator. Its rinderpest campaign was fought strenuously by farmers who could not understand why their greatest aid in agriculture, the caribao, should be killed or placed in quarantine. It has been and is a fight of the individual against community interests. The criticism that the bureau's effort was too scientific and did not reach the small farmer, is partly true.

It remained for the Bureau of Education to employ very potent methods of reaching the people, through the school garden and the corn and other exhibits instituted throughout the islands. The Bureau of Agriculture utilized the "movies" to make demonstrations. By its system of grading and baling Manila hemp, the bureau placed the hemp industry on a basis where it bids fair to develop properly; and it is trying to do the same for tobacco. Strange as it may seem, insufficient rice is raised for home consumption and imports must be made at heavy expense. Locusts, rinderpest, and lack of sufficient irrigation coupled with the human factor account for this.

No factor since 1898 has been more important than that of education. The educational feature is, indeed, intertwined with every branch of American effort in the Philippines. No sooner was American occupation a fact than teachers were provided by detail from the volunteer soldiers. Teachers were also sent from the United States, and for the first time, Filipino children really began to receive the public instruction that had been so long decreed by special Spanish laws. The training of Filipino teachers was also immediately begun. The ideal of universal education has not yet been reached through lack of money, teachers, and equipment, but considerably over half the children of school age are receiving some school instruction. Teaching is wholly in English, not only because English is the language of the United States, but also because of the lack of a common native language. Largely because of this, English is more commonly used than Spanish ever was—a fact that is making for greater homogeneity. American teachers, aided by American-trained Filipino teachers, are molding the social

and political life of the future, for the older Spanish-trained generations are passing away.

An ever-increasing emphasis is laid on industrial training, the beneficial results of which are seen to-day in many homes, for not infrequently this school training is carried by the children directly to their parents. In every primary school, industrial work is coupled with the abc's, while at Manila and the provincial capitals trade schools have been established where various trades are taught, and where the marvellous manual dexterity of the Filipino is being developed. A school of household industries was established several years ago with excellent results for the purpose of teaching lace-making, embroidery, and other similar work to women as a means of livelihood.

Secondary education is provided by the high schools of the metropolis and provincial capitals, and higher education by the government university. The latter has, besides its academic department, schools of law, medicine, engineering, forestry, agriculture, art, and music. Primary and secondary education are also provided by numerous private and religious institutions, and university education by the Dominican University of Santo Tomás, the oldest university under the United States flag. All non-government institutions are now under direct government supervision, and recognition of their diplomas depends on their meeting government requirements.

The recreation factor in education has not been neglected. The play instinct has been carefully fostered. Athletics and clean sport were early introduced with excellent results, and American baseball has been an important element in training Filipino boys. Child-life has been immensely enriched by the greater variety made possible by the many games introduced, and a new note has undeniably been struck that will have its effect on the race of the future.

The Philippine Assembly sincerely supported the educational programme, although attempts to dictate and reorganize were not wanting. The number of Filipino teachers in responsible positions constantly increased but complaints of discrimination in favor of Americans were frequent. Pressure from assembly and people undoubtedly often had an effect, but there is a point beyond which it seems unsafe to go. There are over 8000 Filipino and less than 800 American teachers in the public schools. One of the encouraging features is the eagerness of the people for educational instruction. Filipino school children are more easily managed than Amer-



ican, but while they study faithfully, more so, generally, than the latter, they are said to possess less originality and initiative.

Two of the results of the new education seem to be a shifting of the viewpoint regarding the relation of the individual to the public and a greater sense of personal responsibility. This is helping to inculcate a general elevation of standards. But the total and lasting result here, as in all other phases of the new life in the Philippines, can be seen only after many years. Much seems to be promised if present conditions are substantially maintained.

A few words must be added about the Filipino campaign for political independence and the passing by Congress in 1916 of a new Organic Act. Along with the Philippines, the United States inherited the Filipino desire for independence. The military pacification did not stifle, but only changed the direction of that desire, which now assumed a political turn. Politicians, the direct descendants of the old *caciques*, were able to foster and increase the demand among the people, who on many occasions followed blindly their leaders. The abortive attempt at revolt by one Mandac in 1911 was followed with interest by Filipinos, but beyond a very few they hesitated to identify themselves with the uprising, which was local in character. But had Mandac's first stroke been successful, a serious revolt might have broken out, although many Filipinos in the large centres would not have joined the movement of their own free will. More insidious proved the attempted insurrection in 1914. This was incited through the efforts of one Ricarte, known as "The Viper", who lived in exile near Hong Kong, and who through agents worked on the more ignorant of the masses. Ricarte, who made a very substantial living out of the commissions which he sold in the army of liberation, probably never intended that an insurrection should break out at all. He had been pursuing the same course for years, and his movements were well known to the authorities. But this time the movement got away from him, and, at the last moment, broke out in Manila a week ahead of the scheduled time. The danger was minimized by the authorities, but it was a real danger, and the Philippines luckily escaped an insurrection that showed more careful planning than any of Ricarte's previous farces. Beyond these two slight outbursts the Philippines have had peace since the organization of local governments and the passing of the Organic Act of 1902.

The politician and the press acted in accord on the subject of political independence. Any Filipino who refused to move with the current was forthwith dubbed an Americanista and became unpopu-

lar. The matter unfortunately became involved with the question of Filipino capacity for self-government, and this gave rise to much bitter comment from Filipinos who naturally resented, because of their national sensitiveness, any imputation of inability to conduct a government. Thus in spite of the many warm friendships the political breach, which had never been completely closed, widened. The effect of this among the ignorant masses during the last few years was a growing sullenness.

American training has confessedly fostered the desire for independence, inasmuch as it has led constantly toward a greater Filipino participation in Philippine affairs. The discord that has appeared has been due to several causes, chief of which is perhaps the failure of each side to understand, or even to care to understand, the other. The American, who has fostered the Filipino desire for independence, has too often sneered at that very desire. The Filipino, who has too often neglected what lay next to hand, has failed to understand that there might be a question of the feasibility of complete Philippine independence. There has often been lack of real sympathy on both sides. The American's inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon temperament has made him wonder at times at the Filipino hesitancy to accept unreservedly measures that make for advance in every way, forgetting in his enthusiasm, which has been real and sincere, that one "can't hustle the East". For the Filipinos, notwithstanding their western connection, are still an Oriental blend.

There is no doubt that certain Filipinos at any time since American control, and the number has been constantly growing, could have organized a government. The only doubt is whether the Filipino people could successfully conduct that government once organized. The Filipino politician has nothing to learn from Americans. He knows the game. The vital question is whether there is enough of the quality that may be termed statesmanship to steer a nation safely through the quicksands and over the shoals of an independent government. There are some indications against it, but there are, on the other hand, a few men who have reached a higher level than that of the mere politician. The opportunity for a fuller testing has arrived with the passage of the Jones Act by which the Philippine Commission has been abolished and an elective Philippine senate created as the upper house of the Philippine legislature. There must be doubt, however, just so long as an American governor-general has the last word over legislation. The new régime is now in operation. The upper house is showing a tendency

to hold the lower house in check. One immense gain that may come is a healthy party life, which the Philippines have never had. It is to be observed that there is complaint from the opposition press that after all nothing new has been gained, toward ultimate independence, by the Jones Act. Yet, when there seemed a danger that Congress would pass the Clarke Amendment injected into the Hitchcock Bill in 1916, with its clause granting complete independence to the Philippines within two or four years, there went up a protest against it, and there was a veritable panic lest it become law, notwithstanding that those in power asserted their willingness to assume the new responsibilities if given, and the opposition asked that the bill be passed. This is only one of the many contradictions of the independence campaign. Neutralization, formerly the catchword of the politician, is seldom now heard. Belgium's fate has stifled that.

Will Filipinos, if given an opportunity, be permitted, even if they prove equal to the task, to develop their own country? I do not know. By their very location, they form an important centre in the New Pacific. If the United States withdraw, will there be any guarantee against the seizure of the islands by another nation? I am afraid not. I cannot believe that the Japanese government, notwithstanding certain utterances that have been heard in Japan, is desirous of annexing the Philippines, as Japanese interests lie rather to the north and northwest; but I am certain that Japanese interests would demand their occupation in case of withdrawal by the United States, if for no other reason than to forestall any other nation. I should be sorry to see this happen, for it would mean the loss of an American experiment which has attained valuable results and which, notwithstanding the political and anti-imperialistic diatribes against the sincerity of Americans, has been conducted not without honor.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### HISTORICAL SCHOLARS IN WAR-TIME

APART from such services as can be rendered equally well by any other able-bodied or intelligent man, what can the "history man" do for his country in time of war, of things for which he is especially fitted by his professional acquirements and habits of mind? Many historical scholars, with the summer vacation before them, are asking the question, of themselves or of others. Many have not found a satisfying answer. It seems relatively easy for the scientist to provide himself with a task that offers good prospects of direct usefulness. He can invent a new range-finder or a new explosive. He can improve the quality of optical glass. He can seek new sources of potash. He can make two potatoes grow where one grew before. And, what is quite as important, the public and the authorities are abundantly aware of the usefulness of what he is doing, while both are prone to regard the historian as occupied only with the dates and details of remote transactions having no relation to the fateful exigencies of the present day.

Against such an opinion the mind of the virile historical student protests with all his might. What is more essential to the successful prosecution of a great national war than an enlightened, unified, and powerfully-acting public opinion? Why is France so heroically strong a combatant, and Russia, with four times the population, so weak? All the munitions that could be piled on the banks of the Dvina or the Sereth could not give military strength to a nation that does not know its own mind, to a population in which, outside a small percentage, public opinion has no existence. The American gun may be the best that science can make it, the man behind it unsurpassed in quality, but how long will he persist in his fearful struggle if the people at home do not see why he should?

But how can public opinion in America be enlightened, homogeneous, and powerful, in a crisis which is in the plainest way the product of historic forces, if it is not informed in the facts and lessons of history? It is notorious how large a part, in giving to German public opinion its marvellous unity and cohesion, has been played by the chauvinistic history lessons of the German school-master. Heaven forbid that we should imitate the chauvinism; the American enters the war distinctly as a citizen of the world.

Rather, he enters the war with that intention; but to make him truly such a citizen requires an enormous expansion of his political education, a quick shift of his point of view, rapid reinforcements to his knowledge of European conditions. In the supply of such knowledge, vital alike to intelligent prosecution of the war and to intelligent assistance in the settlement of peace, the historian cannot doubt that his part may rightly be a large one, seeing how largely those European conditions are results of history, inexplicable without its light.

Such a state of the facts calls loudly upon the historical scholar to come out from his cloistered retirement and to use for the information of the public whatever knowledge of European history he may possess—and to use it energetically and boldly. He is conscious of its imperfection; he is accustomed to write slowly, supporting every sentence with a foot-note; he is already, as his daily duty, pressing excellent historical information, by refined methods, upon youthful minds, and hopes thus to ensure that the next generation shall be more historically minded, better fitted for citizenship of the world. But meanwhile the war is to be won or lost, the future peace of the world ensured or jeopardized, by the adult generation now on the scene. Let him come out into the market-place, and make his voice heard by the men of his own age. If they do not receive his message with the docility with which he is accustomed to see it received by his undergraduates, so much the better for him. His training being what it has been, he is much less likely to be found offering worthless wares with bold presumption than to be keeping valuable knowledge to himself, with needless modesty, "And that one talent that is death to hide, Lodged with him useless".

If, for instance, the historical student knows more than most of his fellow-citizens about the history of Servia and its neighbors, or that of Poland or Belgium or Alsace-Lorraine; if his historical studies have brought him that knowledge of Russian character and its possibilities which many would be glad to possess; if his familiarity with recent Austro-Hungarian history enables him, better than others, to estimate the centrifugal and centripetal forces in the Dual Monarchy; if he has studied with some care the history of German economic policy in general, or of the Bagdad Railway in particular, of the Social Democratic party in Germany, of the workings of the imperial constitution, or of the character and results of German rule over non-German populations; if he can show how great alliances against aspiring *Weltmächte*—against Charles V.,

Louis XIV., Napoleon—have worked in the past, what can be expected of them in the way of unity, what can not; if he knows the history of Pitt's subsidies, or of neutral export of munitions to belligerents; if he can so set forth the condition of Europe after Waterloo as partially to illuminate the dark questions of recovery after universal war; if he can cast historical light on the problems of American Christian missions in the Turkish Empire or of Japanese encroachments in the Pacific—let him by all means, "by printing, writing, or advised speaking", bring his knowledge forward, for the information of a public which eagerly desires to act with intelligence. Many other topics, instructive in war-time, will occur to the historical mind as the changing phases of the war develop.

Still more urgent are the reasons, and much wider the opportunities, for the exercise of the same function in the field of American history. If in the actual warfare of the trenches, under conditions so different from those of previous wars, we must be chiefly guided by the experience of those who for three years have been sustaining the conflict, yet in the thousand-and-one matters that must be transacted on this side of the ocean, on the soil of the United States and among the masses of its people, no experience can be so helpful to American action as American experience, whenever any that is apposite can be adduced. It is easy to say that times, methods, and the nation itself have changed, that the conditions of our present warfare are unprecedented, that we must look at the facts as they are, not as they once were. Yet in all these problems of legislation and execution that lie before us, some of the elements are permanent; some of the methods used in former wars worked well or ill for reasons still operative. Neither ingenuity nor experience is alone sufficient, for man or nation; he is best guided who makes use of both. At all events, history *will* be invoked, whatever we do, is being invoked every day, and if the public is not guided by sound historical information, it will be guided by unsound. When the bill for a selective draft was under debate in Congress, several members of that body sought to adduce our experience with conscription in the Civil War, but it was plain, even to Congress, that they did not know what that experience was. If persons of adequate historical knowledge would seasonably inform them and the public as to the actual merits and demerits of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as to the experience of the United States with political generals, with army contractors during the Civil War, with "conscientious objectors", with newspaper disclosures of military information, with pension frauds, with the income tax, they might be sure that much of the seed sown would fall on good ground.

The final application of the lessons of experience lies mostly in other hands than those of the historian. His function, as historian, may be confined to the presentation of correct historical information, and it is not for an historical journal to offer advice as to how he or others may apply it. Yet the historian is also a citizen, and as such is entitled to speak his mind upon the issues of the hour. It is for him to judge, according to personal and local circumstances, whether he will do most good by speaking or writing solely as an historian, presenting the facts of history without suspicion of *Tendenz*, or by using them in advocacy of policies which he feels impelled and qualified to defend. The main matter is, that he shall not be withheld, by needless modesty or by timidity, from making use, in one helpful way or another, of such knowledge of the past as he may possess. If he has better knowledge than his fellows, or knows better how with brief labor to acquire it, upon the bond and treasury-note operations of the Civil War, upon its varying effects on wages and prices respectively, upon the blockades and other commercial restrictions of Napoleonic times, upon the history of German or Irish or Polish opinion in the United States, or even upon minor topics like the Sanitary Commission or the Christian Commission or the New England Loyal Publication Society, by all means let him speak up. Anything that helps the public to see the present conflict in a wider perspective is an aid toward intelligent national conduct in war-time. If the cloistered student has never had the habit of addressing the general public, it is no matter; it will do him good to try.

As to the means and methods, they are many—books, pamphlets, articles in magazines and newspapers, lectures and addresses. Especially let it be remembered that the great metropolitan magazines and dailies are by no means the only agencies by which American public opinion is formed. The professor may have, or may easily obtain, access to the columns of papers more local in circulation, and through editorial or other articles may take part in the great work of informing local opinion, which everywhere has its peculiar qualities and needs, qualities and needs which he perhaps understands better than they can be understood by writers in some distant metropolis. As for speaking, a little thought will show him that, with our numberless summer schools and teachers' institutes and similar assemblies, there is no lack of opportunities for laying good history before interested audiences.

If the historical scholar finds no chance to do any of these things, at the least he can encourage and advise neighboring librarians and



historical societies in respect to the collecting of materials upon the war, to the end that the future historian may find the means for treating it with all possible breadth of view and in all its varying aspects; for the historical scholar of the present day should surely be better able than others to foresee what kinds of material, economic and social as well as political and military, will be desired by those who come after.

But in respect to all these methods of approach, the historical scholar would do well to communicate first with the National Board for Historical Service, whose character and operations are described on other pages (pp. 918-919), and who are desirous and prepared to be of use in respect to all the lines of activity which have been indicated above. The address of its secretary is, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

J. F. J.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Paris in 1870: Letters of Mary Corinna Putnam*

THE writer of these letters, Mary Corinna Putnam, was a young American lady, daughter of George P. Putnam, the New York publisher. At the time when the letters were written, she was studying medicine in Paris—the first woman admitted to the École de Médecine—having already been graduated from the New York College of Pharmacy and from the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia—the first woman graduated from either of those institutions. In 1873 she married Dr. Abraham Jacobi of New York. She died in 1906, after a distinguished career as a physician and a writer on medical topics.

For the opportunity to use these letters we are indebted to Miss Ruth Putnam, a younger sister of the writer. Without proving any facts of history hitherto unknown, they furnish an additional picture of Paris in war-time, sketched from the point of view of a very intelligent young American. It is believed that the American reader of this day, sympathetic—as who is not?—with the present sufferings of France, will find interest in many passages. A striking letter in the same series, intermediate between the first and second of those which follow, was printed anonymously in *Putnam's Magazine* for November, 1870, under the title "The Fourth of September in Paris, by a Young American".

I.

August 14th, 1870.

*My dearest mother,*

I am rather amused at the tranquility with which you hope that "the war will not interrupt my studies". It will not,—because I have the habit of dominating distractions, and following the example of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse (?) of continuing to work on the problems in hand though the enemy be at the gates and sacking the city. But if moral distraction *were* sufficient I and my thesis would be nowhere. Do you realize that it is the first time since the wars of Napoleon that all France has been called to arms? And that there is quite as much chance of renewing the programme of 1815 and of seeing the Prussians arrive at Paris, as there is of any thing else, certainly a great deal more chance than that the French will reach Berlin. People try to talk of 1792 and the defense of the frontier, and the bas relief on the Arc de Triomphe, and the famous picture from Versailles, are extensively circulated—But the ominous souvenir of 1815 is much more dwelt upon, and really much more appropriate. If only the second Napoleon

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could finish like the first, there would be a dramatic fitness in the thing which would greatly add to one's enjoyment of it. Unfortunately this is by no means certain. The Republican party are by no means prepared as they should be to avail themselves of the crisis and the opportunity, there is really more chance for the Orleanists. The indignation against the government which has precipitated France into so causeless a war, and then shown such complete incapacity to manage it,—this indignation increases every day and has already overthrown the ministry and driven the Emperor into an ignominious oblivion. M. Bernutz, physician at the hospital,<sup>1</sup> observed this morning, "*Il n'y a qu'une seule chose qui puisse amener la paix,—c'est la déchéance de la famille impériale.*" And this will come, if there are new disasters at the frontier, new suffering in the cities, above all, when the unfortunate *garde mobile* is called into action. This *garde mobile* represents all the young men who have not been conscripted, that is who belong to families able to buy them off, and corresponds to the 7th regiment on an immense scale. When the law passed for the organisation of this body (about two years ago), no one ever expected it would be called into action,—the standing army was to suffice for all ordinary wars,—and the *garde mobile* to be an extreme ressource in case of invasion. So the senators who voted for the war with clapping of hands,—and the flock of sheep who represent the "*droit*" at the *corps Legislatif*,—had not the faintest idea that their own sons would be called upon to justify their imbecile bravado. I wish it were always the old men, the epileptiques and the consumptives that were sent to the war; instead of sacrificing precisely the lives which are of the most value to themselves and to the state. However, this is a good lesson,—and the French richly deserve the consternation into which they are thrown. All these bourgeois who for years have been supporting Imperialism because it "supported order", and have allowed wretched peasants and working men to be torn from their homes to be sent to Crimea and Italy and Mexico,—have now a chance to see how it works when their own families and pockets are touched. But the lesson is not yet severe enough for them to act upon it. They will wait until some thousands of the flower of France have been sacrificed to the whim of the imperial master, before they will vigorously protest. Many people admit,—a few proclaim—that did the people of France seize the reins of government in their own hands,—declare the Republic,—and then say to the Prussians, "*Messieurs,—vous avez fait la guerre à notre feu Empereur. Si vous avez encore affaire avec lui, allez l'attraper, cela ne nous regarde pas. Mais dépêchez-vous de vous en aller de notre sol, et nous ne vous chasserons pas. Pourtant,—si vous vouliez faire la guerre à la République, nous sommes prêts.*"—it is whispered that this would be the most effectual way, not only to terminate the war bloodlessly, but with honour. But the majority, even among the bitterest opposition, hold the ground that the Prussians must be chased first, and the account with the Emperor settled afterwards,—which is *insensé*, for if there is a victory, the honour will revert to him, his reputation will be saved and his power re-established, and if there is a defeat, the whole *garde mobile* at Châlons will be thrown to the front,—to be decimated by the disciplined troops of Prussia. For the *garde mobile* have not the slightest military training, and could only stand fire if they are supported, as they are to be by the

<sup>1</sup> Gustave Louis Bernutz (1819–1887), chief physician of the Hôpital de la Charité.

infantry of the Marine. Oh, Humanity, Humanity! *Est il possible que tu marcheras jamais, sauf à des coups de fouet!*—

The disorder is immense. Even the medical students are all called under arms,—and happy are they who can obtain a place in the medical service,—the others are obliged to serve as common soldiers. Nearly all my friends are engaged, but fortunately all that I know personally are in the corps medical. I know of several desertions. It is frightful to notice that every one is indignant with the war, and that all these young men, from whom one expects martial élan, are literally driven like sheep into the army. I have expressed much useless indignation at their submission, but submission to authority is too ingrained in the hearts of Frenchmen for anything but a fever to get it out of them. The day that the first news of defeat arrived, Paris was in a regular panic. I went upon the boulevards in the evening with Eli Reclus,<sup>2</sup> and it was curious to see the soldiers stationed with arms, ready to fire upon the people. There was much more fear of an insurrection at Paris than of the enemy—and the government, which strips the hospitals even of their internes, does not hesitate to leave 30 or 40 thousand soldiers at the capital, without speaking of the policemen, instead of sending them to the frontier, where there is the most urgent necessity to mass troops.

It is really ridiculous to see how many people, who submit without a murmur to this outrage of the government upon two nationalities, and allow themselves to be robbed, ruined and heart-broken by such an atrocious war, still keep up the old cry, "May Heaven preserve us from the Socialists! *They* are coming to destroy our property, our sacred property"! It is enough to make one sick. No, France is no country to live in—in America, whatever our innumerable bêtises, there is no class of people, now that slavery is abolished, who live in a state of chronic fear. The war is such an absorbing topic that I cannot write about anything else. . . .

<sup>2</sup> Michel-Élie Reclus (1827–1904), ethnographer, the oldest of a brilliant and extraordinary family of twelve children of a Protestant minister, with which Miss Putnam was on terms of intimacy. Élie, who had already been an exile from 1851 to 1855, was in 1871 appointed director, under the Commune, of the Bibliothèque Nationale. As such he was later condemned to death; but he had saved the Venus de Milo, and the sentence was commuted to banishment. Élisée, the second brother (1830–1905), the celebrated geographer and anarchist, is mentioned in the next letter. The fourth, Paul, was at this time an externe in the same hospital that Miss Putnam attended. Her description of them, in an earlier letter, written when she first made their acquaintance, may be quoted: "The elder brother [Élie] is very interesting, a calm, reticent, benign kind of man, but one of strong, deep enthusiasm such as you rarely see in Frenchmen, a man who glows with the subject he talks about, but never flames. The third [second, Élisée, "a most ardent abolitionist and admirer of America"] is the very incarnation of flame. Imagine a man about thirty, rather powerfully made, wearing his pantaloons always tucked in his boots, a plush coat, and beautiful brown hair streaming on his shoulders, with a brilliant complexion and intensely restless eyes, extremely exuberant and witty, and dramatic in every thing he says and does, a born poet in fact. He does not please me as much as the other brothers, but he is fascinating as if he had stepped out of a romance. The fourth, the medical student, is hardly more than a boy, but a charming boy."

II.

PARIS, Sept. 15th, 1870.

My dearest mother:

I have today received yours of Aug. 27th after passing a fortnight without any letter. I think one must have been lost, for you say nothing about H.'s return, or his account of his journey, only mention him casually as if you had already gone into the other details.

Before this you will have received at least two, I believe three letters from me, giving you an account of things here, and above all of the proclamation of the Republic. The "Revolution", as far as any could take place at Paris, is now "*un fait accompli*", and peaceably enough,—as you already know. We are now preparing vigorously for the threatened siege. It is wonderful what a difference there is in things since the fall of the Empire. Ten days ago the streets were as quiet, as if no war were raging on the frontiers,—all the opposition journals suppressed,—every one forced to live upon the lying information dealt out stingily from the War Department. Everywhere the silence, inanition, inanimation, characteristic of a Byzantine Empire, for all Empires resemble each other. Now, everything is alive and alert. The streets swarm with bataillons of soldiers,—Marine, mobiles, national guard in uniform and blouses,—drilling conscientiously and making progress every day—marching,—countermarching, to the chant of the Marseillaise and cries of *Vive la République*. The Place de la Concorde really looks like a theatre, so many separate bataillons *de file* in the various corners—and at every turn in a street, one may be stopped by a crowd,—and find the whole avenue illumined by the beautiful glitter of a long line of serried bayonets.

There are said to be 400,000 men in Paris under arms, enough for its effective defense. But poor Strasbourg cannot hold out much longer, and it will be discouraging to commence the siege after the surrender of this brave city. If the Louvre and the Libraries are burned as the great library at Strasbourg has been, it will be atrocious.

*Hélas, ce n'est plus un misérable petit prince, mais la République qui reçoit le baptême de feu!*<sup>3</sup> The order for non-combatants to leave Paris, was, of course, so general that any one could neglect it who chose to,—and, of course, I chose to. So far, my studies have gone on exactly as they would have done in any case,—it being the vacation, and my business being to prepare my thesis. I intend to do my best to be all ready with my thesis and my examination exactly as if there were no war.—It is not at all probable that the war will last until December, and if the school opens then I shall have all I need.

My interest is immense in the events that are passing, especially since the Republic, and as far as I myself am concerned, I feel really quite ready to die in its defense, especially if in so doing I could help the Reclus. I probably shall not do so, however, in the first place because I feel that I owe myself as much as possible to you, in the next, because as yet there is no way clear by which I could serve the Republic, either living or dying. I inquired yesterday at the Ambulance Society if there was any place, but they have already 4000 more names than places, so

<sup>3</sup> The allusion is to the somewhat theatrical telegram which Napoleon III. sent to the empress after the battle of Saarbrücken, "Louis a reçu son baptême de feu" (referring to the presence of the prince imperial on the field).

I went back and dug at my thesis, and probably shall stay there, unless Eliséé Reclus is wounded on the ramparts. No amount of public excitement would ever interfere with my "pioching",<sup>4</sup> unless I was called upon to do something, and I think in the case of any personal calamity, I should "Pioche" with all the more energy. I have such a terror of pain, physical or mental, that I never could sit down under it and *bear* it. Resignation has always seemed to me an impossible, and tolerably useless virtue. I believe much more in the therapeutical efficacy of counter irritation. . . .

P. S. You know that any day Paris may be shut in so completely that no letters can be sent,—and then you will hear nothing from me during the siege. But you need not worry on that account. The danger is extremely small for a noncombatant, and Paris is provisioned for two months. At the end of that time—if we have not chased the Prussians—we shall be forced to capitulate, but I trust in the former alternative,—every day's delay adds to our chance.

## III.

Dec. 26th, 1870.

*My dear Father:*

I have written several times by the balloons, but the bright idea has just occurred to me that I might send letters with more security by the American Embassy. I think I hear you say, "what an absurdity not to have thought of that before!" But I didn't, so I can only hope that the balloon post has been faithful. I hope you will not attribute this shaky handwriting to famine,—it is cold,—for I am writing at the Embassy, and my hands have been frozen by an hour's walk. We still have plenty to eat, *barring meat*, for which we are on rations. Yesterday,—Christmas, we concocted a suet pudding,—as a distant simulacrum of a plum pudding,—and it was not bad at all, though with a slight flavor of tallow candle. In 1814 the Cossacks stupified the Parisians, by precipitating themselves upon the tallow candles and devouring them as a luxury, but in the invasion of 1870 it may well happen that the dainty Parisian gourmets follow their example. Fighting was renewed on the 21st December, and the French are now fortifying themselves in the positions newly conquered. Everyday we are expecting another affair. The crisis at Paris is being sharpened down to a tolerably fine point, but the national movement has become so general and vigorous, that even if Paris is taken, the war will continue, and I am sure that ultimately we shall succeed. Every day identifies more and more clearly the cause of the French republic with that for which the North fought in the war of Secession. It is no longer a war between two standing armies or two rival princelets, but between two rival principles,—*et il y va du succès de l'idée Républicaine dans le monde entier*. The recent proclamation of Guillaume, and the ridiculous address of the German Parliament in which the King of Prussia is crowned emperor of Germany as a recompense for having decimated the population of the allied states, trench the question more and more clearly. I am continually beset with reproaches concerning the non-intervention of America, and I confess—however, much I approve the policy of non-intervention in European affairs,—I should have been prouder of my country had it extended a helping hand

<sup>4</sup> Digging.

to a cause which is identical with its own, and to a nationality which insured the triumph of its own independence. Americans are singularly unsympathetic for the French, and take very little pains to inform themselves correctly concerning their affairs. I have just been talking with Colonel Hoffman,<sup>5</sup> who persists in maintaining an admiration for the Empress,—the Countess of Montijo. . . .

I shall probably write an article on the Siege of Paris, in which I shall insist on certain points that Americans continually lose sight of. The most interesting American peculiarity here at present, is their success with the ambulances. It is wonderful, they hardly lose a case, while in the French hospitals, almost every one dies. Col. Hoffman has given me a card to Dr. Swinburne,<sup>6</sup> who directs them, and I intend to visit them, and compare the statistiques, possibly for publication. I finish my thesis (about) this week. I shall then inscribe for my 5th examination.

Col. Hoffman says that if you write to me, under cover of an envelope addressed to him at the American Embassy at London, that I can have the answer certainly. If this be so, I am indeed provoked not to have tried sooner, for I am very anxious for news from home. . . .

<sup>5</sup> Wickham Hoffman of Louisiana, secretary of the American legation.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. John Swinburne of Albany (1820-1889), surgeon-in-chief of the American ambulance corps in Paris during the siege.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Passing of the Great Race: or the Racial Basis of European History.* By MADISON GRANT. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. xxi, 245.)

IN the first third of this book (pt. I.) the author deals with the general problems of race, language, and nationality; in part II. he applies his conclusions to the study of European races. In this second portion of the treatise there are chapters on the prehistoric peoples of Europe, followed by more detailed studies of the distribution and characteristics of the three existing racial types—the Mediterranean, the Alpine, and the “Nordic” or Teutonic. Somewhat more than half of part II. is devoted to discussion of the Nordic race—its origins, its distribution in Europe and beyond, its relation to “Aryan” languages and civilizations, and its outlook for the future.

The book contains much solid scientific and historical truth set forth with dignity and clearness, although often with a lack of coherence. It affords evidence of minute and careful study, even though the author never cites his authority for particular statements and supplies but a limited bibliography in the appendix. His endeavor to interpret history “in terms of race” is a legitimate and alluring enterprise, even if he goes rather far in claiming originality for the idea.

But *The Passing of the Great Race* is not so much an objective scientific treatise as a carefully reasoned argument in support of preconceived convictions. With Houston Stewart Chamberlain and the German school of historians in general, Mr. Grant believes that the Nordic race is the great achieving race of history and that the hope of the future lies in the conservation of the Nordic populations of the world. He is disturbed by the evidences that this “great race” is “passing”, and is yielding the leadership to the “inferior” peoples of Alpine or Mediterranean stock. His book is an attempt to provide a prophylactic against the danger which thus threatens the security of mankind.

Mr. Grant argues that race has far greater weight in determining historical progress than has environment; that race characters are permanent and immutable; and that the intermixture of races always results in the predominance of the “lower” type. All of these premises may have good standing in anthropological science; but no one of them is so dogmatically certain as Mr. Grant seems to hold. He maintains that, while the Nordic peoples have accomplished most for civilized progress in the past, they are now losing their leadership in the world.

The great wars of modern times, from the Thirty Years' War to the present European struggle, have been peculiarly destructive of the Nordic leaders and rulers. Even more have they suffered from intermarriage with the "lower" types of the white man, their Alpine and Mediterranean neighbors in Europe, and from their attempts to settle in the hotter zones of the earth for which they are unfitted.

The remedy for these conditions is clear to Mr. Grant, and he would apply it with the unflinching severity of a wise physician. Society should give power to its real leaders and abandon the futile illusions of democracy; it should restrain the intermarriage of "higher" and "lower" races; it should turn a deaf ear to the apostles of social uplift, letting the incompetent races sink to their natural level. "We Americans must realize that the altruistic ideals which have controlled our social development during the past century, and the maudlin sentimentalism that has made America 'an asylum for the oppressed', are sweeping the nation toward a racial abyss" (p. 228).

The argument of the book must stand for what it is worth. To the present reviewer it is unconvincing, partly because it rests on debatable assumptions, partly because the method of the argument seems itself unsound. The author ranges far and wide to demonstrate that nearly all the progressive peoples of Europe have belonged to the fair-haired, blue-eyed, long-headed Nordic race. But his determinations often rest on the most questionable evidence. Thus the Trojan War was a conflict between the Nordic Achaeans and the Mediterranean Trojans; but the leaders on both sides were Nordics (p. 144). The patricians of early Rome were Nordics, the plebeians were Mediterraneans (pp. 139-140, 192); consequently the South Italians of to-day are descendants of the slaves of primitive Rome (p. 65). Aristotle was a Mediterranean (p. 197). Christ was apparently a Nordic (pp. 197, 199). Primitive Christianity was the religion of slaves, while Stoicism was the religion of Nordics (p. 193). "The chief men of the Cinque Cento were of Nordic, largely Gothic and Lombard, blood, a fact easily recognized by a close inspection of busts or portraits in north Italy. Dante, Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci were all of Nordic type" (p. 191). The book abounds in affirmations of this sort without the evidence to sustain them. One does not need to deny a certain pre-eminence to the Nordic race in order to feel that Mr. Grant has vastly overstated the case. The author rightly rejects the principle of determining race affinities on the basis of language. But it seems evident that in some instances he depends more on linguistic than on anthropological data for his theory of the expansion of the Nordics. Wherever "Aryan" language is found he predicates a Nordic invasion with the consequent establishment of Nordic, or Aryan, speech.

Mr. Grant's book can hardly be regarded as an important contribution to historical science. Its dogmatic assurance and its partizanship impair its value to learning. Its main thesis is not established, and, in the

present state of scholarship, is not capable of establishment. For guidance in matters relating to European race problems American students of history will continue to depend, as they have done for nearly twenty years, on Ripley's solid and discriminating *Races of Europe*.

A. B. S.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty.* By HAROLD J. LASKI, of the Department of History in Harvard University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. x, 297.)

THIS is the initial volume, it appears, in a series of historical studies which are intended to form the avenue of approach to an ultimate consideration of the nature of sovereignty. It is an example of painstaking and rather brilliant historical writing, and may justly be classed, both as regards the subject-matter with which it deals and its scholarly method of treatment, with the studies of Mr. J. N. Figgis, and particularly his *From Gerson to Grotius* and his *Churches in the Modern State*.

What may be regarded as the backbone of the study consists of five chapters dealing with the political theory of the disruption of the established Church of Scotland, of the Oxford Movement, of the Catholic Revival, and of the political theories of de Maistre and Bismarck, so far as they relate to the nature of sovereignty. In addition, there is an introductory chapter on "the sovereignty of the State" and two brief papers entitled "notes" on "sovereignty and federalism" and "sovereignty and centralization" printed as appendixes to the main part of the book.

The chapter on the disruption is mainly a critical analysis of the contention of the Free Church of Scotland that the sovereignty of the state does not properly extend to the right of control over matters purely ecclesiastical. Specifically, the Free Church party denied the supremacy of Parliament in respect to the affairs of the Church of Scotland except in so far as they involved purely civil matters; in short, the church was a *societas perfecta* within its own sphere and no act of Parliament interfering with its organization, creed, or discipline was binding without its consent. Similarly, the political theory of the Oxford Movement represented a protest against the claim of Parliament to control the Church in its purely ecclesiastical affairs. Both movements were therefrom essentially anti-Erastian and against the idea of an "all-absorptive state". The political theory of the Catholic revival which ended in the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 was likewise a protest against the doctrine subsequently elaborated by Gladstone in his *Vatican Decrees* that since the papacy asserted a claim

to the allegiance of all Catholics everywhere, a claim which was inconsistent with the sovereignty of the state, it was unsafe to admit Catholics to the full political privileges accorded to other subjects whose allegiance was undivided. In a compact and illuminating review of the *Kulturkampf* Dr. Laski analyzes Bismarck's theory of sovereignty, particularly in its bearings upon the relation between Church and State. The fact that Bismarck was finally brought to Canossa, the author regards as a confirmation of his own theory that the sovereignty of the state is limited, being conditioned in fact upon the obedience and consent of the people.

When Dr. Laski leaves the field of history and enters upon a discussion of the nature of sovereignty he is less happy, and critics who will attribute to him an imperfect understanding of the real character of sovereignty are not likely to be wanting. Both in his terminology and in his reasoning he employs language calculated to evoke dissent among lawyers and political scientists. Thus he speaks of the "federalism of society", "unified sovereignty", "unified governance", the "sovereign character of the national government" (p. 279) and employs other expressions that lead one to doubt whether he fully appreciates the very fundamental distinction between the state and its government—a distinction that lies at the root of an understanding of the nature of sovereignty. He even refers to the individual states of the Federal Union as "those other sovereigns" (p. 283) and to "certain sovereign rights possessed by the states" (p. 267). Again he says: "We prefer a country where the sovereign power is distributed" (p. 273). Scientifically these expressions are inexact, if indeed they do not indicate a confusion of sovereignty with mere power or autonomy and a claim to the divisibility of sovereignty—a theory now rejected by nearly all the best writers on political science.

Finally, the author goes to the length of saying that the "sovereignty of the state will pass, as the divine right of Kings has had its day" (p. 209). If this prophecy is intended to mean what it appears to mean, it is to be hoped that it will never come to pass, and happily there is nothing in the political tendencies of the time, when modern states everywhere are extending their authority over domains formerly abandoned to individual freedom, to justify such an expectation. The notion that the doctrine of absolute sovereignty is dangerous to liberty and inconsistent with democracy is based on a confusion of *state* and *government*; it assumes what is obviously not true, that unlimited sovereignty is irreconcilable with limited government. The two are entirely compatible and it would seem that the more completely sovereign the state, the more able it will be to guarantee and protect the liberty of the individual.

JAMES W. GARNER.

*The Pacific Ocean in History.* Papers and Addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress held at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto, California, July 19-23, 1915. Edited by H. MORSE STEPHENS, Sather Professor of History, University of California, and HERBERT E. BOLTON, Professor of American History, University of California. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. 535.)

Six addresses and twenty-three papers are printed in the present volume. Nearly all of them deal with the local history or with the ethnology, philology, and religion of countries in, or more or less adjacent to, the Pacific Ocean, rather than specifically with the idea suggested by the general title. Some of the papers are of scant scientific import; a few are simply advance sheets of books later published.

Among the addresses those by H. Morse Stephens on the Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific, by Rafael Altamira y Crevea on the Share of Spain in the History of the Pacific Ocean, and by Theodore Roosevelt on the Panama Canal are noteworthy. In his introductory survey Professor Stephens divides the history of the Pacific Ocean into four chapters. Of these the first opens with the arrival of Europeans upon its shores in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and the conversion of the "South Sea" into a Spanish lake. The second records the conflict among the nations of Europe which closed when the Spanish-American countries, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada "occupied the American coast-line" of the ocean. In the third chapter, covering most of the nineteenth century, come the "spasmodic efforts" of Europe to secure a footing among the islands and in China, and the rise of Japan to a position among the great powers of earth. The completion of the Panama Canal opens the fourth chapter.

Apt and illuminating as this characterization and its subsequent development are, some of the incidental assertions might be challenged. Surely the Spanish-American countries had "occupied the American coast-line" long before the close of even the first chapter of the history in question. The efforts of European nations during the nineteenth century to secure footholds among the islands and in China can hardly be termed "spasmodic". That the Dutch "broke their way into the Pacific Ocean through the Straits of Magellan" (p. 27) is not a correct statement, if applied to the voyage of Le Maire and Schouten. Sir Josiah Child was not administering the East India Company in 1677, nor was a settlement made at Amoy in that year (p. 30). The Russians, furthermore, reached the northern Pacific long before the reign of Peter the Great (*ibid.*).

The scholarly study by Professor Altamira shows that four circumstances were responsible for the fact that Spanish colonial activity was centred upon the Pacific, rather than upon the Atlantic, side of the new world. These were: the search for a westward passage as such to the

Indies; the direction taken by Columbus in his first voyage, which brought him to the spot most easily penetrable to the Pacific; the discovery of advanced types of aboriginal civilization with all their appeal of wealth and dominion; and the extraneous enterprises of European countries other than Spain, which assured to them control of the region from Canada to Brazil. Among the results of Spanish endeavor in the Pacific territory Professor Altamira signalizes the contributions to geographical knowledge made by the various expeditions; the impulse given to the construction of an interoceanic canal; the advancement of science through systematic study of the lands and peoples of America; the material aids to civilization afforded by the introduction into America of European plants and animals and into Europe of American plants; the extensive and meritorious literature produced by Spanish writers; and the lessons drawn from the moral qualities displayed by the Spaniards in the new world, despite current misconceptions on the matter. The address closes with an appeal for the establishment at the General Archive of the Indies in Seville of national schools of research on the order of those maintained at Rome.

What Mr. Roosevelt has to say about the Panama Canal is mainly a series of characteristic utterances in paraphrase of the famous sentence of "I took the Isthmus". It contains the usual slurs on Colombia and manipulated accounts of the treaty of 1846 (p. 143) and the Panama "revolution", and adduces other "facts" set forth in "my autobiography and in an article I wrote", not one of which "can be, or ever has been, even questioned" (!) (p. 148). The impression, nevertheless, will not down that Colombia was not fairly treated and should be indemnified.

Of the twenty-three papers five relate to the Philippine Islands, four to northwestern North America, four to "Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean", two to California, five to New Mexico and Arizona, and three to Japan and Australasia. Apart from the very useful studies by Charles E. Chapman, Herbert I. Priestley, and William R. Manning, which have subsequently been incorporated in books, the most valuable among the treatises of a strictly historical character are those on the Philippines by William L. Schurz, Charles H. Cunningham, and David P. Barrows, treating respectively the Chinese problem before the nineteenth century, ecclesiastical visitation under Spanish rule, and the office of governor-general in Spanish and in American practice; on the early explorations of Garcés and on French intrusions into New Mexico, by Herbert E. Bolton; on St. Vrain's expedition to the Gila, by Thomas M. Marshall; on Otermín's attempt to reconquer New Mexico, by Charles W. Hackett; on the ancestry and family of Juan de Oñate, by Beatrice Q. Cornish; and on Japan's early attempts to establish commercial relations with Mexico, by Naojiro Murakami.

In his account of the governor-general of the Philippines Professor Barrows has allowed an error or two to slip in, as for example when he alludes to the "audiencia of New Spain" (p. 240), and when he classi-

fies the "captaincy general" of Yucatán with the real institution of that name in Guatemala (p. 247). Some of his citations, also, from Rodríguez San Pedro (not San Pedro), the title of whose work is nowhere given, are wrongly paged. The paper by Professor Murakami, embodying his investigations in the archives of Spain, Italy, and Japan, is perhaps the most interesting of all the contributions, and affords remarkable testimony to the Europeanization of scientific method in the "land of the rising sun".

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

*Brissot de Warville: a Study in the History of the French Revolution.* By ELOISE ELLERY, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Vassar College. [The Vassar Semi-Centennial Series.] (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xix, 528.)

BRISSET has at last found a most faithful biographer in Miss Ellery. Her work is the result of long and patient investigations carried on in the archives and libraries of Europe and of the United States. If she did not discover a large amount of new material relating to the life of Brissot, it was not due to lack of industry. Her most important discoveries were made in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., and of the New York Historical Society. The letters found in these places, written to Brissot or by him, supply many new data upon his visit to America and his financial relations with Americans. The very full bibliography, from which little is missing, is tangible proof of a serious effort to examine all the evidence. With this material at her command, Miss Ellery has constructed a detailed, sober account of one of the most important of the secondary figures of the Revolution. The volume is especially interesting as the first life of Brissot that has been written; it is further interesting as one of the best of a number of biographies of the statesmen of the French Revolution written in recent years by women.

The impossibility of writing history without evidence is well illustrated by the chapter devoted to the life of Brissot up to the outbreak of the Revolution, a period of thirty-five years; it contains thirty-six pages and is chiefly a condensation of the first volume of Brissot's *Mémoires*. To his travels in the United States, covering a period of five months, almost as much space is given. It is in this chapter that the manuscript material found in this country was utilized. Students of our early history will find interesting matter here on trade and land-speculation.

It is inevitable, in a work covering so long a period of time, that all parts could not be investigated with the thoroughness one would expect to find in a monograph and it would not be difficult, were it worth while, to indicate some topics that had not been adequately treated. In



one case, that of the outbreak of the war with Austria, the rôle of Brissot has not been correctly evaluated because of a failure to understand the significance of the European situation, Miss Ellery following the traditional view of the origin of the war rather than the newer interpretations of Glagau, Clapham, and Cahen. In the treatment of Brissot's attack on Delessart, in the same chapter, it would have been more to the point to reproduce the articles of the decree proposed by Brissot instead of giving so much space to the untrustworthy recollections of Dumont upon the decree.

As a rule Miss Ellery makes use too exclusively of evidence emanating from Brissot—newspapers, speeches, pamphlets, letters—not enough use being made of other sources. Following the practice common among historians of citing but a single source in proof of a fact, she does not conform to the better scientific standard of using two independent sources when that is possible. In the study of the debates in the French assemblies, two independent newspapers are always available and should be used.

The bibliography would be more useful, if it had been given a more scientific form, *i. e.*, if it had been divided into sources and secondary works, instead of "Manuscripts" and "Printed Matter". There seems, also, to have been some uncertainty as to the classification of the material under the various subheads. Although there is a subhead for "Letters", the despatches of the Venetian ambassador are found under "Pamphlets, Addresses, Contemporary Criticism", the despatches of the English ambassador under "Collections of Documents", and the *Lettres et Documents Inédits* of Feuillet de Conches under "General Works", *i. e.*, secondary works. Two noticeable misspellings of names are those of Kornman, which appears as "Korman" both in the text and in the index, and that of Montesquiou, the French general, which appears in the text and index as "Montesquieu".

*Church and Reform in Scotland: a History from 1797 to 1843.* By WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON, Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons. 1916. Pp. xii, 378.)

THIS is the last volume of a history of Scotland since the Reformation, which Mr. Mathieson has published under four titles: *Politics and Religion in Scotland* (1550-1695), *Scotland and the Union* (1695-1747), *The Awakening of Scotland* (1747-1797), and this. It is a story of substantial progress he now tells. From what Macaulay declared the worst constitution in Europe, Scotland emerged into a free and orderly government. She passed from legal methods so clumsy and laws so preposterous as to seem aimed at the defeat of justice, into equality for all before the law, and modern methods for adjudication of rights. And along with this went the softening of religious animosities, the enlargement of the national outlook by philosophy and literature, and the decay of a blind conservatism in politics.

It is noteworthy that more than half the book is given to the affairs of the Church. Mr. Mathieson is a lawyer, with a professional distrust of churchmen; but he cannot avoid or subordinate them. He bemoans the fate of the national Parliament in being swallowed up in that of Great Britain just when it was going to amount to something in the life of the country. But a body chosen as it was, and so shackled in its procedure, never could have become the organ of Scottish opinion. The General Assembly of the Kirk, which had fought the battle for Scottish nationality, was, down to the Disruption of 1843, the great council of the nation, and was thus obliged to extend its activities beyond its proper field of religious activity.

Like all true Scotsmen, Mr. Mathieson is a theologian on his own account, sympathizing with the Moderate party which ruled that assembly during the period of religious chill which ended with the French Revolution, and which did much to make it more tolerant and refined if less fervent and effective. But he makes several grave mistakes, as in ascribing to Knox and his successors the evangelical demand for a conscious conversion as the beginning of a Christian life. That came in from the English Puritans in the next century, and thrust out what was called "the judgment of charity". This assumed that persons who had been instructed in religion and had grown up without any scandal in their conduct, were true Christians and rightful communicants.

Our author does not conceal his sympathies in the two great controversies which divided the country during the period he covers. The first is the struggle for political reform, for the construction of the monstrous municipalities, and for the extension of the suffrage to the middle classes generally. He is with Brougham, Jeffrey, and Cockburn in the battle for freedom of speech and of the press, which was fought sometimes on "the field of honor", and which at last put an end to the libelous abuse with which Wilson and Lockhart and even Scott defended the abuses of political life. But he is not on the popular side in the great struggle for the abolition of patronage. He admits that it was restored by a breach of faith in 1712 for the benefit of Jacobite and Episcopalian landlords; and he has no solid argument for having the pastors appointed by an English official or a Scotsman of another church. His case consists largely in quoting any silly or unreasonable things said by its enemies, not excepting Chalmers. And he never glances at the fact that it has been abolished in our times as an anomaly hated by the common people of Scotland. He has but scant recognition for the greatness of Chalmers, and belittles his magnificent experiment in dealing with the poverty of Glasgow, ignoring the fact that his methods and principles have been revived in the Charity Organization movement of our time.

Mr. Mathieson is a laborious student and an effective writer. But he reminds me of Charles Lamb's complaint of Scotsmen, their positiveness in opinion and the absence of softer shades in their view of life. Mr. Mathieson, like Andrew Lang, sees his own side only, and that keeps his book from being the history of Scotland we wait for.

*Economic Protectionism.* By JOSEF GRUNZEL. Edited by EUGEN VON PHILIPPOVICH, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Vienna. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. xiii, 357.)

For the historian, economist, or statesman who wishes to understand some of the practices and ideals which nowadays underly the conflict of national interests and are among the important provocatives of war the present volume will be of especial interest. It is as an aid to a better appreciation of these difficulties and the extent to which economic interests play a part in fomenting international strife that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has issued this volume. It is suggestive that the topic with which it deals has received considerable attention among European, and especially German, writers of recent years while almost ignored in this country. It is, however, becoming more and more evident that the national ideals and policies here discussed present problems that this country in its ever-expanding international relations will have to face and study with great care.

The first of the three parts into which the volume is divided is entitled the Genesis of Economic Protectionism. In discussing the origin of this policy the author points out that in the course of human development blood, language, and religious communities as social structures have all given way before the political community, this last surviving to-day because it is the form "best adapted to the requirement of a more perfect socialization of the process of satisfying wants" (p. 5). "The national economy, then, is to-day the dominant economic unit to which other groups and factors must subordinate themselves" (p. 6). Economic protectionism is "the totality of those measures by which the national economy seeks to promote its interests in the world-economy field" (p. 125).

Economic protectionism represents the logical consequences of the situation created when world-economy relations break into the national-economy sphere. It is not therefore a policy of world economics, but a detail of the external policy of the national economy. It is neither more nor less than the sum total of the measures adopted by the national-economy unit for the purpose of advancing its interests in the field of world economy (p. 7). The brief account of the development of the theory of economic protectionism which heads this part is followed by a description of the various economic spheres, such as the larger customs spheres, their subdivisions, colonies, and open-door districts, and the part concludes with a summary account of international trade in commodities and the international movement of capital and labor.

Part II., dealing with the Directions assumed by Economic Protectionism, occupies about half the volume. It presents an interesting and useful account, partly historical, of the various practices resorted to

by the leading nations in carrying out this policy. Under the general headings of commodities, capital, and labor, both the positive and the negative measures of protectionism are described in turn. This involves an account of such devices as import and export duties, bounties, freight-rate discrimination, administrative regulations as to food inspection, the letting of contracts, taxation, etc., shipping regulations, and the various methods of controlling the international movement of capital and labor.

Part III. is a summary estimate of the possible results to be secured by the negative and positive measures when applied to commodities, labor, and capital as described in the preceding part.

The volume will be chiefly valuable as a general presentation of a subject, too much neglected by American writers, which is bound to attract greater attention in the immediate future. More particularly the second part will be useful, for few people realize the wide extent of the measures already adopted by various countries in carrying out this policy. But as a theoretical discussion of the economic soundness and political wisdom of the policy as a whole it is inadequate. Though the author is discriminating and suggestive in pointing out the limitations to the effectiveness of the various specific measures employed in carrying out the policy, yet he appears to assume rather than to try to prove the desirability of the policy as a whole. The premises upon which this assumption rests are neither carefully stated nor thoroughly examined, and the effects of some of the specific measures discussed upon the total productive capacity of a nation, to say nothing of the ultimate welfare of the people, are insufficiently analyzed.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT.

*Europe in the Nineteenth Century: an Outline History.* By E. LIPSON, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: A. and C. Black; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. iv, 298.)

IN writing his account of nineteenth-century Europe, Mr. Lipson has laid down hard-and-fast restrictions to which he has adhered somewhat closely. His treatment is purposely concise, topical, and analytical, rather than chronological. His point of view is internal, not international.

The first six chapters describe the development of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, 1815-1870, Russia, 1815-1916, and the Balkans from the earliest times to the twentieth century. Chapter VII. is descriptive of the evolution of the European "concert", beginning with the Holy Roman Empire. Chapter VIII. is entitled the New Era (1871-1914). The purpose of this is to portray the ascendancy of Germany after 1870, the formation of the alliances, and the events leading to the World War of 1914. The last he organizes under two headings, the Eastern Question and the *Weltpolitik* of Germany.

The analytical purpose of the author is evident in every chapter, typified, for example, by chapter I. on Reaction and Revolution in France (1815-1870). The account is built around the text, "Napoleon bequeathed to his successors the problem of reconciling two divergent aims: the establishment of a form of government acceptable to France combined with the pursuit of a policy acceptable to Europe" (p. 1). In the main, Mr. Lipson's interest is in politics, parties, and officials. His style is generally smooth, although a few infelicitous expressions unexpectedly appear. Unhappy, for example, is the figure of speech on page 166: "But the constitutionalists equally recognized that the principles of their faith, 'Liberty, Equality, and Humanity', would continue to bear barren fruit. . . ." The arrangement is sometimes confusing. At the beginning of chapter V., on the Unity of Italy, to mention but one case, a treatment which is apparently strictly chronological carries the reader alternately forward and backward, between 1815 and 1846, in such a way as to detract seriously from the smooth development of the account. On the other hand, some passages are unusually suggestive and clear, like that concerning the effects of "the awakening of the nationalities" (p. 288 ff.).

The brevity of the book, as compared with other recent discussions of the same subject, has been brought about by some notable omissions. Substantially no space is given to England or to minor states like Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries; the Industrial Revolution and, in general, the social and economic parts of the story, are given only slight attention—much less than in most of the later books; little emphasis is placed upon European history since 1870, except as connected with the outbreak of the war. It seems, also, to have been part of the author's plan to give scant attention to the expansion of Europe into Asia, Africa, and the "seven seas". Some of these omissions seem to the reviewer so important as to raise the question whether Mr. Lipson was wise in confining himself in such narrow limits. Undoubtedly they seriously lessen the value of the book to one who wishes a general view of recent European development.

An extremely pleasant characteristic of the book is the calm, historical temper with which Mr. Lipson has approached those parts of his subject that deal with the present war. He avoids the temptation to deal with the Balkan question and the history of the Balkan states with reference to the present struggle only (p. 183). He refrains from passing judgment on the wisdom of the foreign policy of Germany during the last quarter-century, on the ground that "all judgment pronounced in the heat of conflict must lay itself open to the reproach of partiality" (p. 282). And he suggestively remarks, in relation to the partition of Africa and its effect on the war, "Germany had as much, or as little, claim as her neighbours to a share in the white man's burden—and 'the white man's plunder'" (p. 284). Possibly the American reader will find most satisfaction in the texts, or topic sentences like that, already

mentioned, which opens the first chapter. Some of them are almost epigrammatic, many of them are suggestive and illuminating.

As an example of the book-maker's art, the volume reflects war conditions in the unsubstantial character of the binding. There are no bibliographies and the index is inadequate. The maps do not compare favorably with the best of recent publications on nineteenth-century Europe.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

*Histoire de l'Entente Cordiale Franco-Anglaise: les Relations de la France et de l'Angleterre depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle jusqu'à Nos Jours.* Par J.-L. de LANESSAN, Ancien Ministre, Ancien Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1916. Pp. xii, 310.)

THE author of this book, a former minister of the marine and governor-general of Indo-China, has attempted to trace the history of the relations of France and England since the sixteenth century, that is, since the time when they both emerged as independent and organized states, down to the Entente Cordiale whence has come their presence side by side upon the field of battle. Believing that since the reign of Elizabeth England has in her foreign policy always applied three principles: namely, to seek no conquest on the Continent of Europe, to protect the independence of the Netherlands against the ambitions of the great military and maritime powers, and to oppose the establishment of an hegemony over Europe by any power whatever, Mr. Lanessan makes a preliminary examination or survey of England's foreign policy during the three centuries. This survey he considers a necessary preface to the history of the Entente Cordiale, which is his special theme. One hundred and ninety-nine pages are devoted to a description of Anglo-French relations from 1558 to 1890; 120 pages to the period from 1890 to 1915. In the former he appears to have followed a few secondary works such as the histories of Lavissee, Bourgeois, Debidour, Seeley, and Green. The narrative is respectable and to the uninitiated may be useful but it reveals nothing new and gives evidence of no original research. The most useful and interesting part of the book is the final chapter, a long chapter of over a hundred pages.

The alliance signed in 1891 between France and Russia was destined not only to end the isolation in which France had lived since 1870, but to mark the entrance of Europe upon a new phase of her evolution. Fear of Germany, which caused Russia to seek an ally, was in time to be shared by England. The germ of the Entente lay in the increasing perception of the meaning of German leadership in Europe. During the latter years of Bismarck's career England had rather inclined toward the Triple Alliance, doubtless because Bismarck's policy threatened none of her interests, while France and Russia for various reasons aroused



anxiety. But when the naval and imperial aspirations of William II. were made clear, England began to reconsider her situation. But from this awakening of distrust or suspicion of Germany to a *rapprochement* of France and England was a long and painful journey. Friction had long existed between the two countries and when the policy of Hanotaux conducted France to the verge of war by conducting her to Fashoda, matters reached a climax. How to extract an *entente cordiale* from that lamentable crisis, with its danger and its humiliation, was a problem similar in difficulty to that of extracting sunshine from the cucumber.

The process, however, had already been begun. In 1895 the Lord Mayor of London had been invited to visit the international exposition at Bordeaux and shortly afterward there was founded in London an "association for the development of more cordial relations between the United Kingdom and France". It was "to use its influence to develop a better knowledge and higher appreciation of the French nation in England, as also of the English nation in France, by the organization of public meetings, lectures and the circulation of literature", etc., and to "ensure a more accurate knowledge of the respective feelings and opinions of the two nations in all questions affecting their common interests". Thus began the process of mutual education which is at the basis of the present union of the two nations, so long suspicious or estranged.

This book is written by a Frenchman who was a partizan of this movement from the start. On November 13, 1896, Mr. Lanessan advocated in the *XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* the possibility of an understanding between France, Russia, and England. He regarded the Entente of France and England as the corollary of the Franco-Russian alliance. In 1897 he was one of those who founded in France an association similar to that just founded in England. Mr. Lanessan became president of the organization effected at that time and which began to operate through the chambers of commerce. An independent movement with the same end in view had already been started by Mr. (now Sir) Thomas Barclay. The problems and difficulties encountered in the development of the understanding of the two countries from that time down to the outbreak of the war are here set forth, by one who participated in the history. Mr. Lanessan's book is far from being adequate to the subject but it furnishes enough personal information and criticism and comment to make its reading desirable for the historian of contemporary Europe.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868 to 1885.* By the Rt. Hon. Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, G.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1917. Pp. xii, 344.)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON was of the House of Commons from 1868 to 1906. As son of the Duke of Abercorn, at one time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was of the governing class, a fact which accounts for



the early age at which a place was found for him in the Disraeli administration of 1874-1880. He was then appointed under-secretary for India, with Salisbury as his chief. In 1878-1880 he was vice-president of the committee of council, practically minister for education. In the short-lived Conservative administration of 1885-1886 he was first lord of the admiralty. He resumed this office when the Unionist administration was formed in 1886, and held it until the Liberals came into power in 1892. From 1895 to 1903, when he retired from the cabinet, he was Secretary for India.

Only the years from 1868 to 1885 are covered by these reminiscences. But for half a dozen reasons they are likely to be of service to students of British politics of the two decades that preceded the realignment of parties after 1886, when Gladstone had committed the Liberal party to Home Rule for Ireland. In the opening pages in which Lord George Hamilton describes his victory over Labouchere at the Middlesex election of 1868, there is testimony to the value attached by local party wire-pullers and election agents to the son of a duke as parliamentary candidate. Hamilton was then only twenty-two. He was a junior ensign in the Coldstream Guards; and up to the time he was asked to contest Middlesex, he had given so little attention to current politics that he had "to set to work, regularly giving up so many hours a day, and obtaining from old members of Parliament—notably the late Earl of Mayo—the ins-and-outs of questions most attracting public interest". "After two or three weeks of this cramming", he adds, "I felt I could pass quite a decent examination in the catch political topics of the moment."

Much of the old corruption of the electoral system had still to be weeded out in 1868. The Corrupt Practices Act, which has been so effective in eliminating bribery and other corrupt practices at elections, was not passed until 1883; and Lord George Hamilton estimates that each vote at the Middlesex election of 1868 cost him about a sovereign. "A vast number of solicitors was engaged, at high fees, as district agents. All the flies, buses, and carriages available were hired, on the pretense of conveying voters to the poll; and travelling expenses from all parts of the kingdom were allowed."

Of Hamilton's reminiscences of the House of Commons and of the men who were his contemporaries in 1868-1885 the most interesting are those in which he records his opinions or his impressions of Disraeli, Gladstone, and W. H. Smith, and men of lesser importance such as Labouchere and Bradlaugh. His recollections of his parliamentary and social contact with Disraeli help to explain Disraeli's remarkable hold on the Tory aristocracy, after he had once been accepted by the Conservative party—after the Conservative party in the middle sixties had realized that he was the only popular leader in the party, and that only with a leader who could attract the middle and wage-earning classes could the Conservatives hope for a long tenure of

power. Disraeli, more than any other man who was ever a power in English political life, was adept at flattery; and Hamilton, consciously or unconsciously, gives some examples of Disraeli's art at its fulsome.

Hamilton himself will not expect general agreement in his characterization of Gladstone, nor endorsement of all his remarks on Labouchere and Bradlaugh. But no one who is familiar with the House of Commons of 1886-1892, and with the personal history of the House from 1832 to 1886, will hesitate to endorse, without reservation, his splendid tribute to Smith, as leader of the House of Commons. Whitbread, Poulett Thompson, Cobden, Bright, and Chamberlain were all commercial men who greatly distinguished themselves in Parliament. But until Bonar Law, in December, 1916, became leader of the House of Commons, W. H. Smith was the only man, drawn directly from the ranks of commerce, who had held that office; and in the history of the House from 1832 to the Great War, there never was a more business-like, more conciliatory, more self-repressing, or more effective leader than Smith.

In writing of the House of Commons itself, Lord George Hamilton is most informing when he is recalling its methods of business prior to the reforms in procedure which have been made since 1882. He is interesting also when he describes the oratory of the House; and he raises a quite debatable question when he gives it as his considered judgment that fluency and dexterity of speech rank far too high in the public life of England. "They are", he adds, "very useful adjuncts to a man of courage, principle, and high ideals, but nothing more, and useless and dangerous when dissociated from such attributes."

Hamilton went to the India Office in 1874, and in detailing his work there as under-secretary, he has written one of the best descriptions of the work of the office, and of its organization, that has ever been embodied in English political memoirs. One other value in these reminiscences has yet to be mentioned. There is more than once in these pages the most sweeping and strongly-worded indictment that has been written or uttered of the Manchester school of politics by any man in the front rank of English political life. There has been a party truce in Parliament, in the constituencies, and in the press since the war began. The truce did not extend to Lord George Hamilton's study when he was at work on his reminiscences.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*The Development of China.* By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, formerly of the College of Yale in China. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 273.)

THE characteristic feature of this book is successful condensation. Having felt the need of a short treatise for use in college courses wherein only a few weeks can be devoted to China, the author has un-

dertaken to provide an introduction to the history, institutions, and present-day problems of China.

First of all, Professor Latourette explains how geographical factors have affected the life and civilization of the Chinese people, accounting among other things for their long isolation. Next comes a brief sketch of early Chinese history. This is followed by a descriptive account and critical estimate of Chinese culture. The historical narrative is then resumed with reference to the increasing contact between Occidental nations and China during the period from 1834, special attention being given to American-Chinese relations. The last chapter, on present-day problems, which might have been the best, is perhaps the least satisfactory because of its too strict conformity to the general plan of avoiding detail.

At the end there is a selected bibliography with useful descriptive notes. Among things which might advantageously have been added, a chronological table of important names and dates would be especially valuable for reference.

The conciseness of treatment will explain and excuse most of the few faults. It is not easy to achieve at once brevity of statement and the sufficiency of explanation necessary to avoid creating false impressions. Thus, it is inadequate to say "women . . . have not been as frequently educated as men" (p. 137); likewise, that with the revolution women were granted the suffrage in Kwantung province (p. 227); with regard to the murder of Margary, that "a British officer lost his life on the Chinese side of the frontier" (p. 167); and, with regard to the Boxer uprising, simply that it was an anti-foreign movement (p. 191). Lord Napier was not instructed actually to "open negotiations directly with the Chinese government" (p. 144). The indemnity exacted in 1842 was scarcely such as to establish "the precedent that China must pay in cash for her unsuccessful wars" (p. 147). The treaty of 1842 was *a*, but not *the*, "precedent for" the extraterritorial system as it exists to-day (p. 147). Did Burlingame "propose" to the Chinese that they send an official mission abroad (p. 156)? The surplus of the American share of the Boxer indemnity was not "returned" to China (p. 195); it was remitted. There should be added to the list of troops participating in the Relief Expedition of 1900 (p. 193) the French and the Italians. It is scarcely accurate to say with regard to Russia, Japan, and the Portsmouth Peace Conference that "both sides were ready to welcome President Roosevelt's intervention" (p. 200). For "1915", on page 205, there should appear 1917.

Professor Latourette does well in pointing out that "Chinese culture, produced almost unaided by one race, is a monumental tribute to the ability of that race, and a sound basis for optimism for the future" (pp. 10-11). He gives an excellent summary of the characteristics of the old government. He rightly emphasizes the fact that the transformation of China begins, as regards appreciable evidences, with the war with Japan in

1894-1895. In reference to contemporary problems and the future: "Were China left to herself, she would probably, after a period of exhausting civil strife, work out a stable government, but the jealousies and the special interests of the Powers can not allow her to engage in such a struggle" (p. 238).

The book is well written, well printed, and should prove very valuable for the purpose for which it is intended. It brings together within brief compass a variety of essential information which will greatly facilitate the work of classes in Oriental history and contemporary politics. In producing this work Professor Latourette has rendered a distinct service both to student and to teacher.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

*A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912.* By WALTER WALLACE McLAREN, Ph.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. 380.)

IN 1914 the Asiatic Society of Japan published in its transactions a volume of *Japanese Government Documents* edited by Professor W. W. McLaren, then of Keiogijiku University. This collection, covering the period from 1867 to 1890, has been of the greatest value to students of Japanese politics and history, and the introductory essay is one of the best brief surveys of the political history of that amazing generation. Few could have used the volume without regretting that its publication in Tokyo would inevitably limit its circulation abroad. And this regret is not entirely removed by the recent appearance of *A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912*, by the same author.

The latter volume is really an expansion of the introductory essay in the former, the first half following very closely, with some slight changes and additions, the eighty-one pages of the earlier work, and as frequent references are made to the *Japanese Government Documents* it is essential that this volume be at hand for consultation. The second half of the present volume is new matter, covering the period from 1890 until 1913. In the general field there is already the valuable treatise of Dr. Uychara on *The Political Development of Japan, 1867-1909*, and in the opinion of the reviewer this will not be replaced by Dr. McLaren's more extended study. In fact each may serve as a useful interpreter of the other.

In brief, Professor McLaren describes the great events and movements in the political history of Japan during the reign of the Emperor Meiji. He is a severe critic of the bureaucracy, as becomes a member of the Keiogijiku faculty, and the picture of Japanese political development which he portrays is a gloomy one. The presentation, by topics, is not infrequently confusing through overlapping chronology, and students will note the lack of citations to authorities, especially when statements are given which contradict views usually accepted. As an in-

stance of this we note the assertion, and the argument built upon it, that on the abolition of feudalism the *daimyos* were allowed one-half of their assessed incomes, whereas all other Japanese and European authorities to our knowledge fix the amount as one-tenth. And another case in point is the positive statement regarding Komura's instructions at Portsmouth. Many readers, also, will regret the presence of unconfirmable gossip in the pages of an otherwise scholarly book. The columns of a partizan newspaper in the heat of a political campaign hardly serve as a reliable source of information.

One point which Professor McLaren repeatedly makes is that the expansion of Japan into the mainland was the result of the "inherent chauvinism" of the people and was constantly in mind from before the Meiji days. Of this statement he gives no convincing proof, although, on the other hand, he does describe how, in 1873, the government adopted that policy of peaceful internal development which prevailed until 1894. That there is some error in judgment here is the more probable when we note a confusion of the Japanese-Korean treaties of 1876 and of 1885, and the quite misleading statement of the causes of the Chino-Japanese War. And just as in the case of Japanese foreign relations the author holds fast to certain fixed ideas, so in the discussion of political developments the high standard of British political institutions is applied too rigidly to Japan, with but little allowance for the political experience of the people. For this reason Professor McLaren's interpretation of Japanese political history is not as well-balanced as his knowledge of the documents would lead us to expect. And if his picture is a gloomy one it is mainly because he has omitted many of the touches which might have brightened his canvas. The work of the bureaucrats has not been entirely bad. There is evidence that political conditions in Japan are improving: education and experience are producing better informed voters, the members of the later Diets are certainly superior in training and ability to their predecessors, and the long struggle between the Lower House and the bureaucrats, especially the army and the navy leaders, would cause one to accept with some reservation the statement that "since 1894 the power of the military clique has steadily increased and that of the political parties declined".

PAYSON J. TREAT.

*Les Auteurs de la Guerre de 1914.* Par ERNEST DAUDET. Volume I. *Bismarck*. Deuxième Edition. Volume II. *Guillaume II. et François-Joseph*. (Paris and Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères. 1916. Pp. 287; 275.)

THE author of the *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Alliance Franco-Russe* has here endeavored to demonstrate a particular thesis. "The old pretensions of Prussia against our country constitute one of the principal causes of the war" (I. 15). They date from before the Revolution,

they explain Prussian policy from 1792 to the Congress of Vienna, when Alsace and Lorraine were vainly demanded, and the real motive of Bismarck's wars with Denmark and Austria was his passionate desire to square Prussia's account with France (I. 26). M. Daudet further believes that Bismarck's "policy of force, deceit, and treachery" became endemic in German diplomacy, and that he "is responsible for all that has happened since his day along the paths on which he started his country" (I. 6, 11). Unfortunately it cannot be said that this contention is satisfactorily worked out.

About half the first volume is devoted to the crisis of 1875 and the Schnaebele incident of 1887. Numerous quotations from unpublished reports of the French ambassadors in Berlin reinforce the usual verdict that while Bismarck utilized the scares to strengthen his political position at home, he hoped to secure from France a definitive recognition of the treaty of Frankfurt and was not averse to war if the situation developed favorably. For the rest, there is a detailed account of the relations of Bismarck and William II. Hohenlohe, Busch, the reports of Herbette (then French ambassador in Berlin), and contemporary gossip are quoted with great effect to show the abominable conduct of both men to the dying Frederick III. and his wife. Then we are reminded of the dismay and disgust aroused in Germany by the first actions of William II., and this leads to the rupture with Bismarck, a story which M. Daudet tells with relish. The only new fact revealed is that Bismarck urged the French government not to participate in the labor conference which was the young emperor's panacea for socialistic agitation. The purpose of this narrative is not specifically stated: the thought is, apparently, that William II., once an ardent admirer and intimate of Bismarck, was contaminated by the association and thereby inoculated with the virus of Bismarckian statecraft. Certainly the emperor got rid of his mentor in true Bismarckian fashion—and the episode is symptomatic of many later actions. In the final chapters, describing Bismarck's activities after 1890, the emperor is portrayed anxious to forgive and forget; with as much success as attended Bismarck's or his own efforts to reconcile France with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

M. Daudet has not written a biography of Bismarck, and says so. He has selected certain episodes of that marvellous career which sustain his argument, and ignored everything else. Undoubtedly the main-spring of Bismarck's policy after 1870 was to isolate France and to represent her as the firebrand of Europe; nevertheless it is worth remarking that in the opinion of many, including Dr. Holland Rose, his policy was one of peace, and the Triple Alliance, to which M. Daudet barely refers, a conservative factor. But perhaps it is too much to expect a French clerical to find anything good in the statesman who approved of the Third Republic and precipitated the Kulturkampf.

Volume II. is journalistic and belies its title. There are superficial



sketches of Francis Joseph and William II. (the latter in the seventh chapter, although it should come first), and a chapter on "Germany Prepares for War" consisting chiefly of quotations from the French Yellow and Belgian Grey Books. That is all about the "authors of the war". M. Daudet has something to say about the diplomatic circle of Vienna in July, 1914, describes the last journey of Francis Ferdinand, fulminates against the dishonesty of the Ballplatz in the month following the assassination: a rehash of the daily press and the diplomatic correspondence. He concludes with a brief analysis, based largely on the French Yellow Book, of the ultimatum to Serbia and the ensuing negotiations.

M. Daudet writes with characteristic French charm, his narrative bristles with interesting conversations and intimate touches, and his patriotism makes him a good hater. But he adds little to our knowledge and ventures no new interpretations. It is to be hoped that the third volume, *Les Complices*, will be more stimulating.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

*Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par A. DEBIDOUR, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Seconde Partie. *Vers la Grande Guerre (1904-1916)*. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. 379.)

THE second volume of M. Debidour's survey of European diplomacy during the past generation bears out the promise of its predecessor. It is concise, comprehensive, and well proportioned. Taking up the narrative with the Russo-Japanese War, the author carries it on in nine chapters to the summer of 1916. The two opening chapters are devoted to the struggle in Manchuria with its diplomatic effects, and to the first Moroccan crisis. The Hague Convention of 1907 forms the subject of the third. Then follows a description of the diplomatic conflict between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente in 1908 and 1911, characterized by the Casablanca and Bosnian crises in the former year and the Agadir crisis in the latter. Near-Eastern affairs are studied in the two succeeding chapters, which include the Tripolitan War, the formation of the Balkan League, the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and the European situation immediately previous to the great explosion. Chapter VIII. analyzes the crisis of 1914, and the final chapter sketches the events which led to the entrance of Turkey, Italy, and Bulgaria, into the struggle. His narrative finished, the author permits himself, in a brief three pages, to characterize frankly German policy, which by its disregard of the law of nations has made inevitable the infinite calamity of the general war. The volume is concluded with *pièces justificatives* which extend over fifty pages and include such documents as the General Act of the Algeiras Conference, the Final Act of the Hague Convention, Franco-British conventions, and correspondence between Kiderlen-Waechter and Jules Cambon.



Those who look for a general explanation of the causes of the war will be disappointed, for the author has rigidly confined himself, at least until his narrative reaches the year 1914, to his purpose of exposing coldly and succinctly the diplomatic relations of the European countries. Discussion of all the psychological and economic factors which helped to prepare the titanic conflict is carefully excluded, except as those factors bear directly upon official diplomacy. The reader is assumed to have an understanding of the origins and development of German world-policy. German plans in Mesopotamia are barely noticed, not coming under the head of official diplomacy; the Bagdad Railway is mentioned only four times in the entire work. To Anglo-German relations the author devotes less than four pages, while the attempts at naval compromise receive only half a page. In thus avoiding the temptation to make his book a general disquisition upon the causes of the war, M. Debidour has found place for the details of official diplomacy which have thus far been published only in monographs. The immediate interest of the work for the ordinary reader is undoubtedly lessened, but its permanent value to the student of diplomatic history for purposes of reference is enormously enhanced.

It is not unnatural that the author should allow his personal convictions to appear rather more plainly in the present volume than in its predecessor. His interpretation conforms in the main to that generally accepted by French, English, and American writers. In his excellent exposition of the Moroccan crises he shows that Germany had no serious cause for complaint against France and England in 1905 and 1911, and that German aggressiveness resulted chiefly from the determination to punish France for daring to take independent action as well as from the conviction that Russia was unable to proffer assistance. The Bosnian crisis of 1908 was, in M. Debidour's opinion, the direct result of Russian anaemia, which gave to Austria the chance to solidify her position in the Balkans, and to Germany another opportunity for demonstrating the strength of the Triple Alliance against that of the newly formed Triple Entente. In dealing with the final crisis of 1914, the author frankly states his purpose of demolishing the German thesis that the war was forced upon the Central Powers. In this, as it seems to the reviewer, M. Debidour is entirely successful and offers perhaps the clearest brief analysis of the twelve days that has yet been published.

It could hardly be expected that this volume, treating of events of contemporary import, should be so satisfactory as to scholarly character as the first volume. Inevitably, the author becomes more French in his point of view. This accounts for his failure to treat adequately of Anglo-German relations, and also, doubtless, for his unwillingness to accord full credit to the English diplomats at Algeciras (Sir Arthur Nicholson is hardly mentioned) and during the Agadir crisis, for the firm and invaluable support they gave the French. The significance of the Anglo-Russian reconciliation is also slurred over. More serious is

the absence of direct references, a characteristic which in the first volume was a mistake, but which in its successor becomes a defect of great importance. Many of M. Debidour's statements of fact should be made as conjectures or at least supported by the citation of definite authorities; such, for example, are his assertion of German intrigues in Morocco, his account of the origins of the Balkan League, and his description of Austrian encouragement to Bulgaria in 1913. When evidence is adduced it is not always adequate: a single paragraph from Bernhardt suffices as text for broad generalizations upon the German mentality, and the sole authority quoted as proof of Germany's aggressive intentions after 1911 is the French Yellow Book of 1914.

Should an American edition of M. Debidour's important work be undertaken, we may hope that the editor will adduce exact and adequate references for all unqualified statements of important facts. The bibliographies, which contain merely French authorities and are entirely uncritical, might also be amplified to advantage, while the brief index could certainly be extended and improved. With such corrections, students of recent European history would find in M. Debidour's work a manual of diplomacy which should prove constantly of the greatest value.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*The Great War.* By GEORGE H. ALLEN, Ph.D., HENRY C. WHITEHEAD, Captain in the United States Army, and Admiral F. E. CHADWICK, U. S. N. Volume II. *The Mobilization of the Moral and Physical Forces.* (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons. 1916. Pp. xxii, 494.)

At the present time issuing a history of the Great War might seem to commend itself more to publishers than to writers, for there must be enormous difficulty in composing such a work on the large scale here attempted in the limited time at one's disposal. The author truly says that no inconsiderable body of primary documents is now available, and it is likewise true that he makes effective use of the newspapers which will be consulted hereafter by those who write of these matters; but already the mass of material is overwhelming unless one has abundant time to go through it in leisurely fashion, which the plan of the present work precludes, while so close as yet are the events to be narrated and so difficult are problems of perspective and judgment, that only by accident or stroke of prophecy or genius could much that is brilliant or profound be combined with what is scholarly and careful. Such a book ought indeed to be written; I have myself read it with interest and without regret; and there is certainly an inexhaustible demand for information on this subject, which had better be satisfied by the work of cautious scholars than by journalists and partizan writers. But it is unnecessary to say that writing of this kind cannot have qualities of permanence or

greatness, and to some extent can only avoid the larger difficulties by staying near to the commonplace and that which is easily ascertainable. I do not mean to say this with the calm assumption of superiority which is sometimes so offensive in critical estimates. Rather it is a pleasure to declare that while going through this volume and bearing in mind the limitations under which the author was compelled to labor, there has been frequent and grateful surprise at the good results which nevertheless he accomplished.

The preceding volume dealt with the causes of the war. This one concerns the manner in which the conflict was begun, the last conversations of diplomats and statesmen, the despatches which were interchanged between the capitals of Europe in the waning days of sombre July and the first fateful week of August, with the comments of press, and the declarations made before legislatures as peoples were told of righteous cause and the Most High God invoked in vindication. Since nothing can be more absorbing than the official documents and contemporaneous accounts which have to do with these things, the author's task in following them is a happy one, and well does he do his work. There is something finely dramatic in his account of the memorable sessions of the Reichstag and the House of Commons, and he has thrown almost an antique-tragic air about the passion and terror which preceded the invasion of Belgium.

The author believes that before the war France was socialist and democratic, absorbed in domestic conflicts, with policies utterly opposed to military aggrandizement, and that under no conceivable circumstances would she have provoked a conflict for reconquering Alsace-Lorraine; that as late as the first of August few Englishmen expected war; that the well-known statements of Sir Edward Grey on July 29 were not intended to give assurance to France or threat to Germany, and that the effect produced was incidental not decisive; that Austria did not yield at the last, as some have supposed; that the civil authorities in Germany did not expect participation by England, though the military authorities regarded it as probable but unimportant; that long before, in every detail, Germany had planned the invasion of Belgium.

The second part of the volume most readers will find of less interest. There is lengthy statement of the military organization of the warring powers and also of their naval strength. The principal accounts are of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and France. It cannot be said that the author displays improper prejudice for the Teutonic allies, but prolonged acquaintance with the German people has brought him thoroughly under the glamor of their achievements and their greatness. The German army is the exemplar and the pattern. He has no hesitation in saying that the men who make up this force are unsurpassed and "without equal in the world". He pronounces the British army to have been the most inadequate though probably the most excellent force in Europe. The Russians had numbers which in popular imagination

made them invincible, but the history of their army justified the conclusion that they would prove inferior man for man to those of the other great powers, and unless there had been improvement from fundamental reforms their exploits were bound to prove disappointing. Of France he makes judgment which might almost have been written before the present struggle began. He knows that her army was large, well trained, intelligent, and patriotic, but like some others he had noticed that French soldiers were not prepossessing in military bearing and appearance, not well "set up", and that they seemed without pride in being soldiers. He believes also that French military development was not that which should accompany the normal growth of a country; training was adopted as insurance against menace to the national existence and not as means of creating a healthy, self-reliant population, simple of taste and strong of heart, so that the very character of the army prepared it beforehand for a defensive war whenever the conflict should begin.

These chapters are less attractive than other portions of the work, and while they are useful they are less so than they should be. In each case they have historical introductions, too ambitious for their scanty length, some of which are not without error. For the most part, however, these pages contain numerous figures and data, which seem to have been collected with commendable thoroughness and set forth in good order, but withal put together by one having no very real acquaintance with military matters, and hence set down in the fashion of a catalogue, not complete enough for the special student and very wearisome for ordinary readers. There is lack of clear, trenchant, lucid generalization, and especially of interpretation, while the statistical comparisons might be better made in tables than by the narrative form in which they are expounded.

In the third part there is a chapter on the mobilization of financial resources, interesting and especially good as regards Great Britain and Germany; and finally one on the mobilization of the armies, in which after careful and cautious analysis the author concludes that following the mobilization of Servia, there was partial mobilization in Austria-Hungary July 28, which was extended to Galicia two days later, and made general August 1; that in Russia partial mobilization was ordered July 29, and made general on the first day of August.

There are some blemishes, but none of consequence. The statement about the good fortune of the Turks in securing, to effect their military reorganization, a selected body of the greatest military leaders of all time seems rather naïve (p. 258); it scarcely conveys the correct impression to say that Tsar Peter overran Sweden in 1719-1720 (p. 325); it remains to be seen whether sea power is not the supreme factor in this war (p. 371); I do not believe that England's anxiety at German naval development was owing to the fact that the British must always have a "scare" (p. 378).

The writing is clear and usually interesting though seldom inspiring. The principal fault which I have noticed in it is that at times there is lack of logical sequence with respect to paragraphs, as though some chapters had been written in parts and put together hastily afterwards.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

*The Elements of the Great War.* By HILAIRE BELLOC. The First Phase, The Second Phase. (New York: Hearst's International Library Company. 1915, 1916. Pp. 379, 382.)

ONCE or twice in the course of a long and varied military career, we have met an officer so exceedingly homely that he attracted particularly our attention and even fascinated us. And this book with its guesses, its bitterness, its bias, its paucity of facts and plentitude of fancies, its worthless diagrams, its needless repetitions, its frequent digressions, and its obscure, awkward, and poor English, is, on the whole, so utterly bad that it is positively fascinating.

The book is intended to be a history of the "Great War" which began in the summer of 1914 between Germany and Austria on the one side, and France, England, and Russia on the other. The first volume explains the causes of the war, contrasts the opposing forces, and describes the operations in Belgium and France up to the battle of the Marne, and in Austria, Germany, and Russia to include Hindenburg's great victory over the Russians at Tannenberg in East Prussia.

The second volume concerns itself more especially, and almost entirely, with the great battle of the Marne, which resulted in stopping the onward rush of the Germans just short of their envelopment of Paris and in throwing them back upon the river Aisne, where they "dug themselves in" and formed that long line of intrenchments which has been held by them in great part from that day to this.

But the descriptions of the movements, actions, and battles of the contending armies occupy only a limited space in the two volumes; the greater part is devoted to diagrams and demonstrations and discussions of what the author is pleased to call, "The Elements of the Great War".

Perhaps the best thing in the whole book is the author's definition of war, which is as follows: "War is the attempt of two human groups each to impose its will upon the other by force of arms." There are also some few pages in the narrative part of the book deserving of praise; and it may likewise be said with truth, that if one can have the patience to read through the 750-odd pages of the book, of which just about three-quarters are rubbish, he will have a pretty fair idea of what happened in a general way in Belgium and France, and in Austria, Germany, and Russia in the first few months of the "Great War". But only in a general way; for neither the opposing numbers, nor the plans, nor the movements, nor the designations of the contending forces, were known in any detail at the time this history was written. And,

bearing upon these points, we quote from the author the following paragraph, with the remark that this, so far as it goes, is a most excellent review of the contents of these two volumes:

A book such as this, written during the course of a campaign, and forming no more than a contemporary commentary upon it, is necessarily tentative in many of its judgments. It is incapable of reciting the story as a whole. It betrays on its every page the fact that it was written during the progress of an event whose issue was still unknown, and most of whose developments could only be guessed at. It is peculiarly liable to weakness when it attempts to estimate the varying weight of varying episodes.

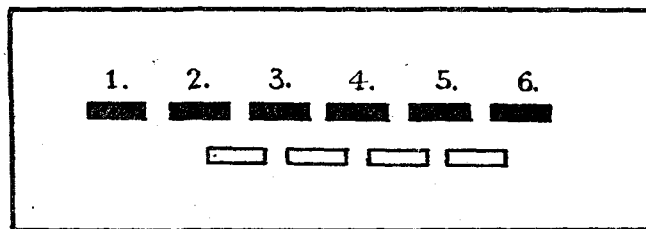
Nevertheless, the author often tells us in considerable detail what he thinks happened, and the reasons why he thinks such a movement produced such a result; but he is frequently not convincing, and the diagrams he draws to prove his points often make more obscure the parts of the text they are intended to illuminate.

He calls the battle of the Marne, "An Action of Dislocation"—whatever that may be—and in explanation of the term says:

It is clear that, even where superior forces are face to face with inferior, the cohesion or continuity of the superior line—unless its numerical superiority be quite overwhelming—is essential to success.

Now we submit that this is neither clear nor true. On the contrary, victories have frequently been won by superior forces when there was lacking a "cohesion or continuity of the superior line". In truth, victories have not infrequently been won, even by inferior forces, when there was lacking a cohesion or continuity of the inferior line, as, for instance, at Chancellorsville.

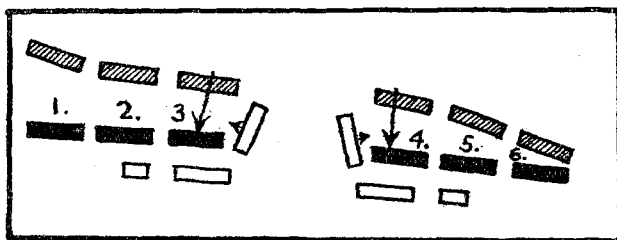
But to prove his statement the author draws the following diagram and says:



SKETCH 14.

I have here (Fig. 14) six Black units opposed to four White units. That is a marked superiority. But if by any accident, or folly, or misfortune, a large gap opens between two sections of my Black units, and if White takes immediate advantage of this, though I am superior in number, White will defeat me.

On the contrary, there would, in our opinion, still be a strong probability of Black's defeating White. Continuing the demonstration, the author draws a second diagram and says:



SKETCH 15.

Suppose (as in Fig. 15) a broad gap is allowed to intervene between two halves of my six Black units, the left-hand half and the right-hand half, and White takes immediate advantage of this by stepping into the gap, it is clear that he will have got upon the flank of unit No. 4 and unit No. 3, as well as holding them from in front; and we know that troops deployed for battle when thus struck in flank are doomed, if the stroke can be delivered with sufficient force. For upon an unprotected flank a line is vulnerable in the extreme. It is there "blind", weak in men, and with no organization for suddenly turning to fight at right angles to its original facing. White is further immediately threatening the communications of the Black units 3 and 4, represented by the arrows. Such a situation compels the Black units 3 and 4 to fall back at once to positions indicated by the shaded oblongs on Fig. 15. If they did not so fall back they would be destroyed. But that leaves 5 and 2 similarly exposed, so they in their turn must fall back towards the shaded positions behind them. But this would leave 6 and 1 also exposed, so they also have to fall back.

To an educated soldier it is not necessary to point out the errors of the above reasoning based upon these puerile diagrams; but for the benefit of the civilian reader, it might be well to remark that if a gap occurs in the superior Black line, and White steps into the gap, the heavy artillery well back of Black's line would, in all likelihood, bring such converging and overwhelming fire upon White in the gap, as would prevent his further advance, if it did not actually defeat or annihilate him. And right here it is perhaps pertinent to remark, that this very fact is the principal reason why neither of the intrenched lines, facing each other from Switzerland to the English Channel, has been able, after opening a gap and penetrating the enemy's line, to press on to further victory.

And if to this reasoning it be replied, that the gap is of such width that the artillery could not bring a converging and cross fire upon it,



the answer is, that then Black and White would each virtually be separated into two armies, and that in each army Black would have a preponderating force over White and, consequently, be better able to carry out a flanking, or any other, operation against him.

Another sample of the author's queer kind of reasoning may be seen in the following paragraph:

The battle of the Marne is so extremely complex an action, one fought upon so vast a scale, and one the evidence on which is still so vague and scanty that no grasp of it is possible unless one treats it step by step, beginning with the most elementary and general plans.

If the paragraph were changed to read as follows, it would be much more logical:

The battle of the Marne is so extremely complex an action, one fought upon so vast a scale, and one the evidence on which is still so vague and scanty, that it is impossible to grasp it and treat it step by step, even though we should begin with the most elementary and general plans.

The following is an example of obscure, awkward, and meaningless English, the like of which is frequently found in the text:

The Marne was in essence a battle of dislocation as truly as the smallest such example taking place in the pettiest of antique sword play between two village states. But the enormity of its scale changed, for the human agents, the very stuff of the thing. There was demanded of men a new grasp of things a hundred-fold more complex than their studies of the past could teach them, and it was upon this account, more, I think, than upon any other, that the great action became one of that rare type which, on a smaller scale, would have been due to crude blundering, but which, upon this scale, was a peril to be feared by any general, the "battle of dislocation".

And does not the following almost make a twist in the brain: "The invention of air craft (which enables the exact fall of a shell to be spotted at whatever length of range the projectile be shot from)"?

There are seventy-three sketches and diagrams in the book, but no maps, except simple sketch-maps of the crudest kind. Surely if a book of this kind is worth the expense of publication, it should contain a good map of Belgium and France, and another of Germany, Austria, and western Russia.

H. H. SARGENT.

*Financial Chapters of the War.* By ALEXANDER DANA NOYES.  
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. xii, 255.)

MR. NOYES says in his preface:

Every reader of history will agree with me that the lack of clear contemporaneous exposition of the financial events of our own war from 1861 to 1865, or, even more particularly, of the great Napoleonic wars, is one of the greatest obstacles to the full historical comprehension of those periods.

It is such an exposition of the chief financial events of the first two years of the present European War, with especial reference to American conditions, that the author seeks to give in this small volume. In connection with the narrative he undertakes to throw light on the questions: "Is this American war-time prosperity unreal, temporary, and fictitious? Will the conditions of 1915 and 1916 be instantly reversed when war is over? Has New York actually displaced London as the financial centre of the world?"

Mr. Noyes, who is financial editor of the *New York Evening Post*, is widely recognized as one of our best newspaper writers on financial subjects. The material of the present book is to a large extent a revision of material contained in the author's recent articles published in *Scribner's Magazine* and the *Yale Review*.

The field covered is so wide that most of the topics discussed can receive only very brief treatment. The author, however, has shown a good sense of proportion in his selection and treatment of topics. Numerous comparisons of recent events with financial experiences in other wars enliven and broaden the discussion. Judged as a popular narrative and interpretation of contemporary financial events the book is a good piece of work, and ranks well on this side of the Atlantic with the similar book by Hartley Withers on *War and Lombard Street*, which has had such a wide reading in England. The author is at his best in the last three chapters, which deal with the economic aftermath of the war. On this subject he is not optimistic.

The notion [he says, pp. 199-200] that a prolonged and costly war will be followed ordinarily by prosperity and "boom times", is pure illusion. . . . All past experience goes to prove that the process of financial readjustment, after the strain of this present war is definitely over, will involve an economic strain of extreme severity, affecting every belligerent.

Referring to the proposed post-bellum economic war on the Central Powers, Mr. Noyes says:

In so far as the proposed agreements were defensive, not offensive, they would amount to confessing fear of the very nation which (sup-

posing the defeat of Germany) had just been conquered. That attitude would at least be novel and anomalous for a victorious coalition. In so far as they were offensive and not defensive, they would be public declaration of economic war, to be made a source of future bitterness, acrimony, and renewed political intrigue, at the very moment when the disastrous military war had been happily concluded (p. 223).

The book contains a few unguarded generalizations and misleading statements. Among these the following may be mentioned: the statement (p. 12) that at the time of the Napoleonic Wars the price of British consols "rose and fell purely in response to news from the campaign", and the statement (p. 136) to the effect that "the total money value of the checks thus exchanged, in a given period at all American clearing houses, indicates accurately the total payments made in connection with the business activities of the period". It gives a wrong impression to say of the American Civil War that "we raised money freely by the sale of new securities to the outside world" (p. 5). The suspension of the Peel Act in England was authorized on three occasions prior to 1914 (*viz.*, 1847, 1857, and 1866) and not on two only, as Mr. Noyes says (p. 38). A sterling rate of \$7 in 1914 meant theoretically that the American currency in terms of English currency had depreciated about 30 per cent., and not  $4\frac{3}{8}$  per cent., as Mr. Noyes says (p. 93). An extreme, ephemeral, and exceptional rate of this kind, however, is of little significance in measuring the depreciation of the unit of value. In view of the Bank of England's bank-note issue of £18.4 millions against government debt and "other securities", it is misleading to say that "the Bank of England's own note issues, now as heretofore, are secured in gold up to their face value" (p. 146).

Many economists will be unable to agree with Mr. Noyes in his contention (p. 150) that for the great rise in prices of 1915-1916 in Europe and the United States, "the prodigious demand for all kinds of war material, the blockade of producing countries, and the abnormally high ocean freight rates are sufficient explanation". These forces were strong influences—the chief ones for many commodities—but they were not sufficient to explain the great rise in general prices, reaching all sorts of articles only remotely affected by the war. This was in no small degree due to world-wide currency and credit inflation. There was the release of gold from active circulation in Europe through the substitution of paper and silver—a factor which Mr. Noyes mentions in another place—and there was the great expansion of credit in the form of deposit currency in both England and America. In the United States, for example, we have had much more gold in our banks than formerly, while each dollar of cash in reserve, under the new conditions created by our federal reserve law, is capable of supporting a much larger credit structure and actually is supporting a larger structure.

Mr. Noyes's book has few citations of sources and practically none sufficiently definite to enable the reader to follow them up.

The above criticisms are not serious. They do not prevent the reviewer from passing a very favorable judgment on the book as a popular narrative in contemporary war finance. As such it is the best general treatment of the finances of the European War, from the American point of view, that has yet appeared.

E. W. KEMMERER.

*The New Map of Africa (1900-1916): a History of European Colonial Expansion and Colonial Diplomacy.* By HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS, Ph.D., F. R. Hist. S. (New York: The Century Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 503.)

THIS work is an excellent study of the conditions and the economic and political progress in Africa during the past fifteen years. It contains descriptions of the British, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Belgian colonies. It includes an account of the development, both in the islands of Madagascar and Zanzibar, and in the independent states of Liberia and Abyssinia. And the volume is brought up to date by chapters on British Policy in Somaliland, "Egypt becomes a British Protectorate", the Conquest of the German Colonies, and African Problems for the Peace Conference. Unfortunately the impressive title of the book is misleading, for it fails to convey to the reader a clear description of its contents. If the work had been called "Africa To-day", it would have been more in keeping with the evident intent of the author, for he has given us an accurate and delightful description of the present situation and of development from 1904 to 1916 in the various African colonies and states. Mr. Gibbons has the newspaper correspondent's eye for the picturesque and the impressive. He is an accurate observer, and he writes graphically and forcefully. Moreover, he possesses an intimate knowledge of those parts of Northern Africa which he has visited personally during the past two years; and his accounts of colonial progress in all parts of the continent are accurate and illuminating. All those who desire to keep in touch with the march of events in Africa, will be grateful to Mr. Gibbons for this fascinating and masterly picture of the Dark Continent during the last decade.

To write successfully a "History of European Colonial Expansion and Colonial Diplomacy" in Africa, one should begin with a careful study of the events of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and tell the whole story with that attention to details which ensures adequate treatment both of the historical evolution of events and of the proper relation of the developments in one section of Africa to those in the other parts of the continent. In the present instance, the author lays too much emphasis on the period from 1900 to 1916. He is historically

misleading when he states (p. 131) that "The new map of Africa was made during the fifteen years preceding the present war". For the map of Africa, as it was at the beginning of the present world-conflict, was worked out very largely during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Some important details were added between 1900 and 1916; and others will be made in the treaty of peace. It can be said truthfully, however, that the period of greatest development in most of the European possessions in Africa was between 1900 and 1914. Also, the author has materially weakened the effect of his story by beginning it at the end, with a chapter on the present situation in the Sudan, and by a certain carelessness in the chronological arrangement of the chapters. For instance, he describes the present situation in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Boer War, and reconstruction in South Africa in chapters I. to III. and gives an account of the creation of the Congo State and the establishment of German Southwest Africa, which belong to an earlier period, in chapters VIII. and IX., though he brings his story up to date at the end of each of these chapters. Again, his chapter on the Sudan precedes those on Egypt by nineteen chapters, and the story of Rhodesia is removed an equal distance from the account of South African development, while German colonial activities are elaborated in chapters IX., XII., XV., and XXIV. Moreover, it is clearly impossible at this time to write intelligently and accurately of colonial diplomacy in Africa during 1900-1916, since a large portion of the diplomatic correspondence of European states concerning African questions during the last eight or ten years has not yet been published. The author is evidently conscious of this limitation, for he has given comparatively little space to colonial diplomacy, outside of Moroccan affairs, and throughout the volume he makes but few references to the diplomatic correspondence.

The "New Map of Africa" must of necessity remain undetermined till the treaty of peace is signed. It is to be regretted that Mr. Gibbons did not postpone the publication of his volume for a few years, till peace had been established and it was possible to tell a complete story. If he had done so, the last chapter of his book, on African Problems for the Peace Conference, might have been a valuable contribution on the work of the peace conference and on the completion of the map of Africa, instead of a brief summary of suggestions. Furthermore, the author has been compelled more than once, either to tell an incomplete story or to be content with insufficient data, since it was impossible at the time of writing to procure full information while events were still progressing. For instance, the chapter on the Conquest of the German Colonies could not be completed satisfactorily, because the subjugation of German East Africa was still in progress. Nor could a finishing touch be given to the chapter entitled Egypt becomes an English Protectorate, for no reference could be made to the failure of the administration of Sir Henry McMahon and the recent appointment of Sir Reginald Wingate

as governor-general. Nor could the author do justice to the British Dar Fur expedition of May, 1916, its successful conclusion, and the future relationship of this state to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Furthermore, the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced, if the author had included in several of the chapters a complete account of the subject under discussion. For instance, chapter XXII. on the South African Union contains no summary of the various steps in the formation of the Union and but one date—that of the proclamation of the Union on December 3, 1909. In chapter VI., entitled the Colonial Ventures of Italy, he passes over the details of the Italian "pacific penetration" into Tripoli and the events of the Turko-Italian War—particularly on the Italian side—because he had told this story in his volume on *The New Map of Europe*. Even in his account of Moroccan affairs, he omits some important details, such as the attempt of Emperor William to secure the immediate recognition of Mulai Hafid in 1908, and he leaves out entirely the significant episode of Agadir, because "it belongs to European history". And, curiously enough, in the excellent chapter on "Egypt becomes an English Protectorate", he fails to give any description of the Kitchener reforms of 1913 or of the events which led to the declaration of war between Turkey and the Entente Allies.

The publishers, unfortunately, have injured a good work, both by their poor book-making and their misleading advertisements. The maps are inferior in quality and inaccurate in coloring. They fail to draw attention adequately to those phases of development which they were intended to illustrate; and their usefulness, without a map of Africa as it will be after the Great War for comparison, is questionable. To describe the volume in such indefinite and misleading terms as, giving "the history especially on the diplomatic side of the crucial years 1899 to the great war", and as, covering "a field as yet untouched in compact form in any language", is as poor a piece of advertisement as the cumbersome, double-headed title. Readers are apt either to be driven away by the confusion of statement, or to be disappointed with the contents of the book. A frank statement of the exact contents will always help the sale of a volume—particularly of so good a colonial study as this one is.

NORMAN DWIGHT HARRIS.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.* By ROSCOE R. HILL, Professor of History in the University of New Mexico. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1916. Pp. xliii, 594.)

HISTORICAL research and prospecting for gold seem much alike; at least the outcome of the venture in each case is uncertain, as Professor

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXII.—56.

Hill and his sponsors discovered in the special investigations that resulted in the present volume. They started out to examine the collection in the Archivo General de Indias known as the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, with the intention of calendaring all the papers in that collection relating to the United States. But when Mr. Hill, after making a beginning at Seville, found out that there awaited his more careful attention 928 legajos (expanded by subdivision to 954), out of the 2400 comprised in that one collection of the archive, and that the number of documents in them totalled nearly half a million, he and Dr. Jameson determined to modify their original plan. Obviously the present demands of American scholarship would not warrant the printing of a calendar in fifty volumes. On the other hand, should Mr. Hill select some twenty-five legajos for calendaring, he could not be sure that those selected would be the most important. So he proposed an alternative plan of which the present *Descriptive Catalogue* is the outcome.

In following out this plan Mr. Hill, aided by trained clerks, examined all of the above legajos containing material relating to the United States. He has prepared a general description for 532 of these and from this number selected 143 for thorough calendaring. The slips, thus prepared, are available for investigators at the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. The remaining 413 legajos (excluding eight that are useless and one missing) are such as he could describe with greater brevity than the former class (the 532). In addition Mr. Hill prepared a series of photographs of the more interesting documents in order to show the character of the papers and the autographs of various Spanish officials.

In undertaking his truly formidable task, Mr. Hill had the advantage of very little previous work. Professor Shepherd's *Guide*, that appeared some ten years ago, is very brief and its general description of the Papeles de Cuba somewhat misleading. Yet this furnished the starting-point for the present work. Dr. Robertson's *List of Documents*, describing such transcripts as were in the United States seven years ago, is stimulating but not particularly helpful to such a cataloguer. Some articles and check-lists in print, which Mr. Hill has listed, give an idea of the vastness and importance of the archive as a whole, but not much information of its various sections. For the Papeles de Cuba there were some check-lists prepared at the time when the collection was transferred to Spain, some thirty years ago, and some careful indexes made in connection with an earlier transfer (1856-1869) and prepared anew in 1876. Fortunately copies of these indexes, whose originals remain in Havana, could be used in preparing this work. They have been checked up with the contents of the legajos and found to be substantially correct.

Mr. Hill's introduction gives a running account of the collection from the first measures to bring it together and shows the various sources from which its multifarious material has been obtained. Contrary to



previous impressions, the papers were generally found in order and with very few *lacunae*. This is remarkable in view of the vicissitudes experienced by the papers in removal from Louisiana and Florida to Cuba and from that island to Seville, and the comparative neglect that awaited them in the latter place, until within the last decade. Fortunately better storage facilities are now available in the Casa Lonja, and historical students may rest assured that this really priceless collection for the study of our early relations with Spain is reasonably safe from all destructive agencies except those of the recent Hunnish variety. Mr. Hill gives a complete list of the manuscript indexes and inventories that exist in the collection and also an extensive list of abbreviations he has employed. Mr. David M. Matteson has prepared a very full index of a hundred pages, comprising a sixth part of the entire volume. His citations are to legajos and this plan will prove helpful to those who wish to check the references made by future writers.

One can only determine the definite value of the work by using it. The reviewer can say, after personally testing portions of Mr. Hill's preliminary notes in Seville and also the slips deposited in Washington, that both are exceedingly helpful. It is possible for an investigator to determine from the printed *Descriptive Catalogue* what legajos would be of service to him. In cases where these legajos are fully listed, he could, by corresponding with the Director of the Department of Historical Research, or by a personal visit, select such documents as he wished to have copied. He might also, through Mr. Hill's notes, locate the legajo numbers of the documents listed by Robertson, although this would be a more uncertain process. The copying of documents, in normal times at least, would thus largely be a matter of detail, arranged expeditiously and at the minimum expense. Mr. Hill is to be commended for his painstaking labor in bringing about this result. It is to be hoped that the Carnegie Institution, having thus inaugurated its series of more complete descriptive volumes, may shortly be in a position to continue this valuable work in other Spanish repositories.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

*Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives.* By FRANK A. GOLDER, Professor of History in the State College of Washington. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1917. Pp. 177.)

To the valuable series of *Guides* to material for American history in foreign archives, published under the auspices of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, a welcome addition has been made by Professor Frank A. Golder on the material in the Russian archives.

The Russian archives have been almost completely neglected by stu-

dents of American history because of their remoteness, the difficulties of language, and the restricted range of topics in which they can be profitably exploited. Professor Golder in his *Guide* proves that they furnish material for practically only two lines of research in connection with American history, namely, diplomatic history and the history of Russian exploration and colonization in Northwest America. Formal diplomatic relations with the United States did not begin until 1808, and Professor Golder was not permitted access to diplomatic material of a date later than 1853. This is much to be regretted for from the making of the treaty of 1824 until the beginning of the Civil War the diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia are of comparatively little significance, while for the interesting and important questions of Russia's attitude toward that conflict, the sending of the Russian fleet to America, and the negotiations which led to the sale of Alaska the door is tantalizingly shut in the face of the investigator.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the *Guide* brings some compensation in showing that a study of Russia's relations with Spain at the time of the South American struggle for independence may throw some new light on that episode. It is interesting to note that almost all the diplomatic material is in French. The archives furnish on the other hand a most varied, voluminous, and practically unworked mass of material, almost wholly in Russian, dealing with Russian exploration in the Pacific, especially that of Bering, Russian colonization in America, and the Russian American Company. This material covers a wide range of time, from the middle of the eighteenth century down to 1871. A thorough study of the Russian settlements in Alaska may yield an important contribution to the history of European colonization in America. It is unfortunate, however, that the records of the Russian American Company "have disappeared without leaving a trail behind them", although the author of the *Guide* "made special efforts" to locate them.

Professor Golder in his *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives* has done his work thoroughly and conscientiously. Fortunately provided with the necessary linguistical equipment and but little hindered by red tape, he was able patiently to overcome the difficulties of the ill-arranged and imperfectly catalogued condition of the archives and produce a work for which the future American investigator will be extremely grateful. Almost all of the material is in Petrograd, although there are a few items in Moscow. In listing the material the author places it under the head of the department or bureau in which it is found, giving first a short history of the archives in that department. His description of the materials is brief yet ample enough for an investigator to determine whether any particular document has any bearing on the subject in which he is interested. In the case of the more significant documents a condensed statement of contents is given.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Golder's permission was subsequently extended to 1870, and he is now examining the diplomatic archives for the period from 1854 to that date. Ed.

The book is supplied with a full index which adds to its value and usefulness.

JOHN C. HILDT.

*The Middle Group of American Historians.* By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xii, 324.)

THE writing of American history chiefly by New Englanders has been regarded in the South as an unhappy circumstance. This volume by Professor Bassett, a scholar of North Carolina origin and education, tends to set the balance even through the appraisal of New England historians by a Southern student of history. His "Middle Group" of writers and collectors of historical material is made up of Sparks, Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley, all New Englanders, and Peter Force, representing the Middle States. In his prefatory chapter on the Early Progress of History in the United States, he introduces—besides Bradford, Winthrop, Hutchinson, and Jeremy Belknap—a number of the colonial figures from all the regions of early settlement. The final chapter, on the Historians and their Publishers, is a brief account of the business arrangements under which many of the books touched upon in the earlier chapters were produced.

So much for the topics with which Professor Bassett has undertaken to deal. His method of handling them is both descriptive, or biographical, and critical. His chapters on Sparks and Bancroft make the largest contribution of fresh material, for many unpublished passages are drawn from the Sparks Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library, and still more from the Bancroft Manuscripts in the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is twenty-four years since Herbert B. Adams published his *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*. The first professor of history in an American college is already a somewhat mythical figure to scholars of the present generation. His name to-day owes something of its perpetuation to its having become a sort of synonym for the ruthless editor of manuscript records in pursuance of his own ideas of diction. Professor Bassett brings forward enough concrete instances of Sparks's method of dealing with the letters of Washington to remind a forgetful generation how far we have travelled on the road of trustworthiness. The same tendency, at an earlier point in his career, is illustrated by passages of correspondence between Bancroft and Sparks, when the latter was editor of the *North American Review* and handled his contributor's articles with a freedom which would have driven a less sensitive writer than Bancroft to fury. The contrast between past and present appears no less clearly in Professor Bassett's picture of the vast untilled field in which Sparks found himself a laborer, and of the manner in which he went about his task of assembling and dealing with his material. The chapter is both informing and discriminating.

The succeeding chapter, on George Bancroft, illustrates admirably the value of the employment of the same material by more than one person, for the foot-notes seem to indicate that more of the substance of this paper was drawn from material not used, though available for use, in the *Life and Letters of George Bancroft* than from the pages of that biography. The newly printed passages from Bancroft's correspondence throw fresh and revealing light upon phases of his long career, well summarized in about seventy pages.

A short chapter on Two Literary Historians adds less to the familiar knowledge of Prescott and Motley, for the good reason that there is less to add. Peter Force, the Compiler, the one remaining substantial division of the book, goes into many details of Force's collecting and of his relations with Congress. Its value is greater in the field of record than of interpretation.

There are few slips in the book to be noted. Mather, not Matthew, Byles, was "the celebrated Boston minister" mentioned on page 25. The Rev. Jedediah Morse, twice mentioned in the book (pp. 239, 306), spelled, or misspelled, his name "Jedidiah". The "noctograph" appliance which Prescott used in writing is misprinted "nocograph" (p. 214).

There are points in the book at which the details of authorship—the number of words in a volume, the financial outgo and income—seem to usurp the place of "the weightier matters of the law". There are other points at which the book would be better for something more of grace and flexibility of style. But it fills a place of its own in the record of American scholarship, and fills it well.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

*An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs, contained in Four Folio Volumes, transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751.* By PETER WRAXALL. Edited with an Introduction by CHARLES HOWARD MCILWAIN, Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. cxviii, 251.)

THE irreparable loss to American scholarship caused by the fire in the State Library at Albany is gradually being mitigated by the publication of careful transcripts made by competent hands before the catastrophe occurred. In this category is Wraxall's *Abridgment*, of which Professor McIlwain gives so scholarly a presentation in this volume.

Peter Wraxall, secretary of Sir William Johnson and, as the editor shows, largely instrumental in securing his appointment as superintendent of Indian Affairs, had access to the records of the Albany Commissioners, who controlled these affairs for the province of New York

from the early Dutch era until the appointment of Johnson. In 1754 Wraxall drew up for the Earl of Halifax from the original records an extensive state paper, in which he summarized the commissioners' entries, and set forth the trend of Indian negotiations for nearly three-quarters of a century. To this *Abridgment* Wraxall added his own notes and comments, making it a contemporaneous as well as an historical document.

Part of the original records from which this summary was drawn is still in existence. In 1751 the loose sheets on which the commissioners' entries had been made were gathered into four folio volumes, and for many years remained in the custody of the Johnson family. During the American Revolution these volumes with the other effects of the Loyalist Johnsons were taken to Canada, and there in the archives at Ottawa two of the original folios are preserved. Professor McIlwain is optimistic enough to hope that the two missing volumes may yet be recovered "somewhere in Canada". With those now accessible he has made a careful comparison of Wraxall's *Abridgment*, and unhesitatingly pronounces it trustworthy and accurate. The publication is important not merely as a contribution to the history of colonial New York, but because of its revelations of the continental and international aspects of the fur-trade with the western Indians.

Not the least useful portion of the volume is the editor's introduction. In these 118 pages, he outlines the history of the fur-trade from its inception under the Dutch control until the overthrow of the French power in America. He sets forth the rivalries of the natives for the Indian trade, the exceptional advantages of the New York traders, and their ultimate success in diverting to their doors the larger share of the peltries brought by the French merchants from the far Northwest.

In the course of this discussion he suggests that the French and Indian War really began in 1752 at Pickawillany in western Ohio, when Charles Langlade (later founder of the first permanent French settlement in Wisconsin) fell upon the English traders of Pennsylvania, scattered their goods, destroyed the trading-post, and massacred the renegade Miami chief. This episode, while striking, is by no means unique, and if one thus antedates the beginnings of the war, it might be as well to go back to the rivalries that stimulated the Fox Indian wars, or to the clash of traders concerned in the revolt of the Huron chief Nicolas. The temptation to date the shot that is "heard around the world" frequently leads an author far afield.

The editor's grasp of the importance of the fur-trade as a determining factor in colonial and international politics is excellent. His study of its effect upon the course of colonization, and upon the policies of colonial governors, is comprehensive. His understanding, however, of the relation of the trade to the decadence of the aborigines is not so complete. He does not show that the effect of the beaver hunt upon the habits and economic status of the red man was far more disastrous than

the havoc it played with the plans of the colonial authorities. Nor does he set forth the importance of the intertribal trade that antedated the white and the Indian intercourse which formed the staple of colonial commerce. Upon one aboriginal trait the editor lays valuable emphasis, namely, the astuteness of the Iroquois in their rôle of middlemen between the merchants at Albany and the Indians under French influence. He likewise lays bare the vital importance this relation had to the final overthrow of French sovereignty in North America.

The document and introduction together form a valuable contribution to the growing literature concerned with the American fur-trade, a subject whose importance to colonial history is being more and more exploited. It is unfortunate that so excellent a book, intended for the use of scholars, should be without so necessary a tool as an index.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

*The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration 1803-1806.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by MILO M. QUAIFFE, Superintendent of the Society. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXII.] (Madison: The Society. 1916. Pp. 444.)

THIS volume is a distinct addition to the literature of the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition sent out by President Jefferson in 1803, which later became an important item in proving the title of the United States to the Oregon Country; it both complements and supplements similar volumes heretofore available. It reproduces original journals which have been found among family papers by the descendants of Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia, the editor (by authority of President Jefferson) of the first *History of the Expedition*.

Pages 31-76 inclusive contain the journal of Captain Lewis during his journey (August 30 to December 12, 1803) from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and up the Mississippi rivers to Camp Dubois opposite the mouth of the Missouri River, where the full membership of the party was assembled and organized, some of the entries being by Captain Clark, who joined him en route. Despite a long hiatus, covering fifty-four days of the period, this is an important record of the preliminary journey, with references to a few of the party as finally constituted. The compass, style, and orthography (the manuscript has been printed literally) are the same as those of the *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark* (ed. Thwaites, 1904-1905).

Pages 80-402 inclusive contain the more valuable and extensive journal of John Ordway, sergeant of the Lewis and Clark party, kept by him during the entire journey from Camp Dubois (May 14, 1804) to the Pacific Ocean and the return to St. Louis (September 23, 1806). This journal has the distinction of containing an entry for each day of

that period of two years, four months, and nine days. In that regard as well as in scope and intelligence of observation and narrative it surpasses the journal of his fellow-sergeant Patrick Gass; it also contains thirty-six pages more of text than does Gass's, the comparison being made with the McClurg edition of 1904. While following more closely than does Gass the narratives of Captains Lewis and Clark themselves, Ordway frequently adds little details which assist in a knowledge of the itinerary and environment. Naturally Ordway's record is not as scientific as that of his superior officers, but he confirms and often complements their record when written, as it often was, by but one of them. His knowledge of the spelling of the English language was no better and no worse than that of his superior officers. Until this time Patrick Gass has furnished the only record of a portion of the return journey from Three Forks to Great Falls, Montana, but the Ordway journal now supplies a much better account.

As to annotations, the editor of the volume appears to have drawn for the most part from the work of predecessors and from maps, a remark which applies equally to the Thwaites edition of Lewis and Clark. A personal knowledge of the features of the country travelled through is necessary for perfect annotations. Dr. Elliott Coues, prior to 1893, and Mr. Olin D. Wheeler, prior to 1904, each personally traversed a large part of the track of this expedition and the annotations in their editions of Lewis and Clark are the best available and in the main correct, although not at all up to present-day research or nomenclature. Information drawn from them cannot be far wrong, but minor errors are apparent in the notes in this volume as to the western portion of the journey.

There are thirteen illustrations. An exceedingly valuable and interesting part of the volume is the historical introduction (pp. 13-28), which includes a sketch of the fur-trade on the Missouri River prior to the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Historical Society of the state of Wisconsin is to be congratulated upon the publication of this volume.

T. C. E.

*The Story of the Trust Companies.* By EDWARD TEN BROECK PERINE. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. xvii, 327.)

THIS book, like several of its kind which have appeared in recent years, is not so much a story of the history of a financial movement as a collection of interesting incidents in the history of particular institutions. As the author himself remarks, it is a collection of "individual narratives", not a discussion of the principles either of organization or of management of the institutions with which it deals. There is no discussion of the theory of trust-company administration or of the social and economic importance of the trust-company movement, or of its



relation to other banking agencies and facilities. It is such a "story" as we might expect from one who played an important part in connection with the institutions described, of which, like Æneas, he "was a large part"; and who, towards the end of his career, narrates to interested friends his recollections of the men with whom he has been in touch and the work in which they and he have been associated.

For these reasons the book is not one that will interest the general reader, or be of much use to the scholarly student of the subject. The former it will strike as a chronicle rather than a connected history. To the latter it will appear as a secondary source of information which may help him, indeed, more easily to find the facts he needs for his study of the original sources. But the book will be of great interest both to those who have been figures in the trust-company movement, and to those who, having practical knowledge of trust companies and their activities, wish to know the interesting incidents connected with particular men and institutions that have made up the movement. Readers who are seriously interested either in the theory of the trust company or its relation to other financial institutions, will turn for their information to the report on trust companies made by the National Monetary Commission some half-dozen years ago.

The first few chapters contain a sketchy review of banking growth down to about 1850. The author states that while the trust company is commonly thought of as a late comer in banking circles, as a matter of fact trust business was done as early as 1822 by the Farmers' Fire Insurance and Loan Company, although it was not until 1830 that the word "trust" appeared in the name of any banking organization. It was in this year that the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company was organized. This company proposed to insure lives, to deal in annuities, to receive money in trust, and to act as trustees and guardians of estates, receivers of property of insolvents, the committee of the estates of lunatics, and assignees for failed firms. One would think that in telling the story of this, the first avowed trust company, the author would proceed to emphasize and explain those features of its business which may be properly classed as trust functions. Instead, however, he makes a digression to call attention to the company's practice of paying interest on deposits and to point out that the trustees were self-perpetuating. The treatment of the history of this company is a fair illustration of the method of treatment of all the others. We have a list of the trustees, directors, and officers, copies of the newspaper advertisements, of the stock issues, and of editorial comments on the charter provisions, quotations of the prices of the shares of the company, and figures of the amounts of capital deposit and earnings. Similar accounts of the companies formed later in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other cities, occupy practically all the rest of the book, with the exception of a dozen or two pages devoted

to recalling some of the main incidents in the general financial history of the country, such as the panics of 1837 and later years.

The thoroughness with which the topics are treated may be gathered from the fact that in one chapter of twenty pages there are "brief sketches" of twenty-six institutions.

Practically the only statements which throw light on the subject of the book, considered as a movement or as a great public institution, are that the trust companies have always done a miscellaneous business, that the trust functions were of minor importance in the earlier days, and that in later years the bank end of the companies' business has grown so large as to make them important competitors of banks properly so-called.

As already remarked, the book will interest people who are now connected with trust companies, or who have a personal interest as descendants or friends in those who have created and officered these great institutions in the past. A banker will be able to while away an interesting half-hour in turning over its pages. The book is attractive in physical appearance.

DAVID KINLEY.

*Ulysses S. Grant.* By LOUIS A. COOLIDGE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 596.)

ONE takes up each new biography of Grant with the sort of interest with which a physician receives a new treatise on cancer. He is a problem, as yet unsolved, which will probably be solved, and each unread attempt may contain the solution. It is apparent that it was the enigma of Grant's personality which chiefly attracted Mr. Coolidge to this study, to which incitement was added some personal acquaintance. His study of Orville H. Platt, and the miniature portraits inserted here and there in that biography and this, reveal, moreover, in the author a liking for that type of public man to which we apply the term stalwart, although such liking does not amount to bias. While Mr. Coolidge is especially a business man, with political experience, and journalism came in his career before historical study, he thoroughly lives up to the traditions of a family in which book-making has been an avocation for 150 years, and he has turned out a workmanlike piece of historical scholarship. He has used the best books relating to the subject, and particularly everything personally relating to Grant, except the material in the *Civil War Records*. He has not, however, familiarized himself with recent monographic literature, or with the economic and social movements of the time, which emphatically influenced Grant's career, although they left his personality untouched.

The book falls into two distinct parts. The first, pages 1 to 201, treats of Grant to the close of the Civil War. Here it seems to the reviewer that Mr. Coolidge is less successful than some recent military

writers in showing how Grant grew during the war. He seems also not to possess a sufficient background of military knowledge to give force to his military criticism. Grant, however, both man and boy, by quotation and incident, stands out more clearly than in any previous account. In fact, he emerges here as an understandable human being, and the main lines of characterization seem likely to be final.

The second portion, pages 202 to 565, gives his later career, being chiefly devoted to his presidency. Here Grant receives relatively slight attention, the book becomes chiefly a critique, with a favorable tendency, of the administration. The discussions of the disputes in which Grant was involved, and of the scandals of the time, are much less careful and convincing than those of Mr. Rhodes, though here and there the judgment is somewhat more in accord with the prevailing tendencies. The view is still East Anglican, but represents Boston club opinion rather than Cambridge. The author's general opinion of Grant is fundamentally that of Mr. Rhodes, but Mr. Coolidge presents it with vigor, while Mr. Rhodes seems always to be forcing his will to believe in opposition to the facts.

One striking trait which Mr. Coolidge emphasizes is Grant's abhorrence of war and bloodshed. To most readers the following quotation from the second inaugural is probably unfamiliar: "Rather do I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will no longer be required." Another striking fact is that, if Mr. Coolidge is right, Grant remains unchanged after the Civil War. While this seems, in the main, true, it has always seemed to the reviewer that there was evidence that the strife of politics produced a slight moral coarsening, which the strife of battle had not. It is somewhat disheartening, although certainly human, that a man whose reputation as President had been smirched by the infidelities of so many friends, and who had borne it with such a fidelity, splendid in the man though questionable in the public servant, should say, when touched in his private affairs, "I have made it the rule of my life to trust a man long after other people gave him up; but I don't see how I can ever trust any human being again."

As is often the case with authors who lack definite historical training, the treatment of minor characters is far inferior to that of the main figure. It is obvious that while everything of and on Grant has been read, the knowledge of other men has been gained incidentally. Many of these characterizations, however, are based on personal reminiscences, and are lively and interesting. The study of Grant is much more, it is a definite contribution toward the understanding of a man whose peculiar form of greatness has as yet baffled all students, and, in some respects, it is apt to prove final.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*A Retrospect of Fifty Years.* By JAMES Cardinal GIBBONS, Archbishop of Baltimore. In two volumes. (Baltimore and New York: John Murphy Company. 1917. Pp. xvi, 335; viii, 287.)

THIS is a kindly book. And the impression of kindliness that it makes upon the reader is none the less strong because kindliness is the obvious purpose of the writer. Cardinal Gibbons has chosen subjects that he deems worthy of eulogy, and in discussing them he does not forsake the path of eulogy. The book is a collection of articles, essays, discourses, and sermons that cover a period of fifty years; they deal with the Vatican Council, the Knights of Labor, the careers of various distinguished Catholic prelates, some aspects of the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the United States, and kindred matters; and whether the subject is the Church, an archbishop, General Sheridan, or the Vatican Council, there is nothing but eulogy. I would not imply that the eulogy is not deserved; but non-Catholic readers—for whom it should be said the book is not primarily written—will find that the cardinal's charity always stands at high noon, and they will miss twilight and such shadows as are usually cast by great events or great personages upon an impartial mind.

For instance, reminiscences of the Vatican Council take up more than half the first volume. Cardinal Gibbons was the youngest bishop present; he is, I believe, the only surviving father. His account of the proceedings, especially with regard to the dogma of papal infallibility, is, of course, interesting, but chiefly interesting to the faithful. The whole council and its proceedings are presented in terms of eulogy, not unfairly but from the point of view of one who loyally accepts the decisions of the Church. There is no hint of the writer's own opinions; he is but the mouthpiece of the adjudged decision, and yet it is difficult not to surmise, from the general tenor of the book, that his belief in the principles of self-government and democracy must have been obliged to squeeze itself into an uncomfortable position in order to make room for the new ecclesiastical dogma.

This same attitude of loyal admiration for what has been done, decided, and settled, is maintained in the discourses upon Catholic prelates. Indeed, the thread of unity that holds the various chapters of the book together is the cardinal's boundless admiration for the Church, for its American prelates, for the Irish who have come to this country, and also for America; in all he says, he keeps these four admirations hitched together. In spite of this, he cannot be said to slur over the difficulties of uniting his love and admiration of America and the Church. Rather he ignores them; he gives the effect of not seeing them; and yet one feels sure that his life has been laboriously spent in trying to reconcile them. The ecclesiastical system approved by the Vatican Council and our political system are exact opposites. The Roman doctrine of union of Church and State, and the American doctrine of separation,

are exact opposites. The Church's conservatism, and the radicalism of American democracy, are opposed in many ways. And yet Cardinal Gibbons's devoted loyalty to the Church, his profound belief in a spiritual unity behind all earthly phenomena, enables him to approve what seem to the less devout reader to be contraries.

Proof that loyalty to the Church has not prevented the cardinal from maintaining his loyalty to American principles, is to be found in his defense of the Knights of Labor in 1887. Rome had already condemned the Knights of Labor in Canada, and, apparently, was about to condemn them in the United States. Thanks to the liberal views and energetic action of Cardinal Gibbons and other eminent American prelates, the pope refrained from disapproval. The cardinal deserves great gratitude from the Church for what he then did, but the episode clearly illustrates the divergence of the Roman and the American points of view, and shows the difficulties which Cardinal Gibbons and other liberal Catholics have overcome. The lever by which the cardinal has lifted this and other difficulties, is his genuine kindliness of heart. And it is natural for such great kindliness to express itself in words that are uniformly kindly, even where an unsympathetic looker-on might have used caustic expressions.

A matter on which the author dwells with especial pride is the growth of Catholicism in America. Several times he comes back to this natural cause of satisfaction. The American hierarchy was established in 1789 by Pope Pius VII., the Rev. John Carroll was made a bishop, and at that time the Catholics numbered about 32,000, or one in every 107 of the population. In 1806 the corner-stone of the cathedral of Baltimore was laid. To-day there are fourteen archbishops (including three cardinals), ninety-seven bishops, about twenty thousand priests, and a Catholic population of over 16,500,000 souls, or one in every seven of the total population. No wonder that the cardinal dwells upon these figures; it is a strong argument to lay before the Roman Curia when he wishes to persuade them to let America take its own way, and a strong argument to prove the wisdom and success of the Roman hierarchy in this country.

The reminiscences of American prelates, Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati, Archbishop Williams of Boston, Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn, Archbishops McCloskey, Hughes, and Corrigan of New York, are from the nature of the discourses so wholly eulogistic that while they give pleasure and satisfaction to sympathetic readers, they are of no very great value in forming critical estimates of these prelates. They serve to remind one that a cardinal is a prince of a world-wide church, the head of which is a foreigner in a foreign land, and that what that prince says must be said with regard to wide-open ears which are not always sympathetic to America and American ideas, and that the speaker is an advocate far more than a judge.

To sum up, the reader will not find in this book any aids to an exact

knowledge of historic facts, nor will the non-Catholic find any arguments to persuade him to join the Church, but he will feel that the country has been very fortunate to have had a man of broad sympathies, of generous temper, of great patience and Christian charity at the head of the Catholic Church in America during the last fifty years.

HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK.

*History of Arizona.* By THOMAS EDWIN FARISH. Volumes III. and IV. (Phoenix, Arizona: The Author. 1916. Pp. ix, 371; viii, 351.)

THIS state history, like so many others prepared by official historians, under the American system of state administration, suffers from the practice of appointing as historian either a mere politician, or a kindly and deserving pioneer, or a combination of the two. Few states have progressed so far beyond the pioneer stage of making histories as have Wisconsin and Minnesota, and Arizona is not one of them. On almost every page of these volumes is evidence of the author's lack of training and of historical-mindedness. Considerably more than three-fourths of the 687 pages of text is made up of quotations from other writers. At least eleven of these quotations run beyond twenty pages, and one reaches a total of sixty-six pages. Only by courtesy, therefore, can this be called a history of the five years from 1863 to 1868. It is really a source-book or, making use of an Arizona figure, here are two loads of various ores, including some choice nuggets and sheets of native copper, thrown together by an honest, enthusiastic, well-meaning, tenderfoot prospector in the realm of history; from this mass someone else must extract and assay the values.

These volumes cover the period of the organization of the territory; the early legislatures and legislation; the discovery of gold and copper; the military expedition in the interests of the Union; the expansion of settlements about Tucson, Prescott, and the Colorado River; and the inescapable Indian troubles (vol. III., chs. X.-XIV.; vol. IV., chs. IV.-VII.). The story of the conflict between quasi-civilized, daredevil, foot-loose fortune-seekers in an arid and unfamiliar land and various tribes of Indians in transition from the bow-and-arrow stage to the rifle stage furnishes many a vivid paragraph and adds fresh illustrations of both the good and bad qualities of the founders of a desert commonwealth in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In this unordered aggregation of official documents are reports of army officers, messages of governors, and speeches in Congress, often given in full; much would have been gained and nothing lost by condensing one-half. Similarly, far too much space is given to pointless gossip and questionable details of reminiscences of pioneers, some of whom at the age of seventy-five relate minutiae of fifty years earlier, *e. g.*, Genung's "How I became a Hassayamper" (IV. 27-72). Two of

these long quotations, however, stand out in vivid contrast to the rest in importance and historical interest. The first is the series of letters written in 1863-1864 by Jonathan Richmond to his parents in Kansas, on a journey which took him from Kansas to Fort Whipple (Prescott), Arizona, and thence to Tucson (III. 47-67, 218-246), in which he relates his experiences and observations of men and conditions. The other is the story of Mike Burns, an Apache-Mohave Indian, born about 1864, captured at the age of about seven after the murder of his mother, educated at Carlisle, and now a resident of the McDowell Reservation. Rarely have the case and method of the Indian in his struggle against the white man in the Southwest been stated with so much moderation, directness, simplicity, and sympathy as in this narrative.

These volumes are wholly deficient in bibliography, foot-notes, and maps (with a single exception). Even the dates of the writing down of some of the voluminous recollections are wanting, thus making it impossible to determine the rate of discount at which they should be received.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

*Diaz.* By DAVID HANNAY. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. vi, 319.)

MR. HANNAY appears to be a man of talents, candor, and good sense, and his book, in addition to being readable, is worth reading; but it can hardly be described as well-proportioned, scholarly, or sound. What a thoughtful person would particularly expect to find in it—the more since it belongs to a series called *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*—is a thoroughly studied account of what Diaz undertook to accomplish during the twenty-six long years (1884-1909) when he controlled the life of his country; but all this comes within about fifty small pages of large type—nearly fourteen of them devoted to a superficial presentation of the Yaqui case. As illustrative inaccuracies, our war with Mexico is said to have begun in 1845, during the presidency of “J. H. Polk”, and we learn that it ended on May 19, 1848, whereas the treaty was signed on February 2 and the ratifications were exchanged on May 30. Santa Anna appears as Santa Ana (p. 31), Genaro García as Genero Garcia (p. 307), and Agustín as Augustin (p. 229). General Reyes is described (p. 299) as a “moderate man”, though in reality he wished to get rid of all Americans and all modern improvements. Federalist agitators, “with Santa Ana at their head”, are said to have upset Iturbide (p. 229), whereas at the time of his fall the “Federalist agitators” were extremely few and did not recognize Santa Anna as their chief. Diaz, we are told (p. 304), showed “the first signs of senile decay” in May, 1911; but in fact he had begun several years earlier to have fainting spells lasting an hour and even longer. The story of the



British debt is unsatisfactory. As for the heart of the matter, although Mr. Hannay shows (p. 238) that he caught a glimpse of the real purpose animating Diaz, he gives the following (p. 305) as part of his "final verdict": "That man had no other nor higher aim than to develop resources, build public works, enable foreign capital to promote industry and make profits for itself". No wonder the editor of the series blundered into remarking in his preface that Diaz was a "type . . . of the *condottieri* who flourish and then vanish so rapidly on the Central and South American scene". In the opinion of the reviewer, on the other hand, Diaz was a genuine patriotic statesman, gifted with rare political insight, and aiming primarily to place his country on the high road to the peaceful, intelligent, and happy development of its resources for its own good and not for the benefit of foreigners. He believed, first of all, that after more than half a century of turmoil and fighting the habit of tranquillity needed to be inculcated, and therefore that strict repression of revolutionary tendencies was necessary. Public works he doubtless regarded as the readiest and most efficient means of engaging the minds and energies of the people in the interests and methods of orderly, civilized progress. Railroads and telegraphs were deemed highly important also for the squelching of insurrections before they could gain serious momentum; and the only way to obtain these and the other public works was to encourage foreign investments and make them profitable. The statesmanship of Diaz is shown further by his attitude toward the United States. At a time when it was axiomatic with almost every public man in Mexico to distrust, to fear, and often to hate this country, and we were by no means cordial toward him, he took the ground that we could be shown—if unable to see—that it was not for our interest to absorb eight millions or so of ignorant, poverty-stricken aliens, that the two countries could and should be friends, and that Mexico might profit immensely from intimate relations with us. Such views and such aims did not characterize the *condottieri*. In short the book is a well-written journalistic production. As might be inferred, the author's "bibliography" is meagre and his index inadequate.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

*Bibliografía General de Chile*. Primera parte. *Diccionario de Autores y Obras (Biobibliografía y Bibliografía)*. Por E. VAÏSSE, precedido de una Bibliografía de Bibliografías Chilenas por RAMÓN A. LAVAL. Tomo primero (Abalos-Barros Arana). (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria. 1915. Pp. lxxix, 331, x.)

IN January, 1913, the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile founded the *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera*, a monthly publication under the direction of Emilio Vaïsse, who is chief of the bureau of information of that library. The *Bibliografía General de Chile* is virtually a reprint

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of the Chilean section of that *Revista*. Emilio Vaisse is the writer whose reviews of current literature appear weekly in the *Mercurio* of Santiago above the name of "Omer Emeth". In the preface Vaisse states that his projected bibliography of Chile, 1543-1914, will be composed of two parts: first, a bibliographical dictionary of authors arranged in alphabetical order; and, second, a methodical dictionary arranged by subjects according to the decimal system used in the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. His plan is to include in the first part of the bibliography the names of Chilean authors and the names of foreigners who have published works in Chile, or whose writings, whatever their language or place of publication, are concerned with Chile. This bibliography will not be confined to books but will include pamphlets, articles in periodicals, and even broadsides. To some bibliographers the plan of the General Bibliography of Chile may seem over-ambitious; for, as yet, only one volume of the first part has issued from the press.

The initial volume of the first part of the General Bibliography of Chile is a substantial fragment. That volume is composed of two distinct sections: a bibliography of bibliographies of Chile, and an installment of the bibliographical dictionary. The Bibliography of Chilean Bibliographies by Ramón A. Laval, sub-director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, contains over 350 items. It includes not only a list of authors and of their works dealing with Chilean bibliography, but also a list of printed catalogues of manuscripts concerning Chilean history, and a list of reviews which have been made of Chilean periodicals. In the list of printed works there is found an analysis of the contents of the *Anuario de la Prensa Chilena* from 1886 to 1913. Numbers 167-222 are detailed descriptions of the bibliographical productions of José T. Medina which directly or indirectly relate to Chilean history. The history of Chile is viewed from a comprehensive standpoint, for Laval includes in his bibliography of bibliographies twelve works of another erudite bibliographer, García René-Moreno, which deal chiefly with Bolivia and Peru.

The first installment of the bibliographical dictionary of Chile includes some seven thousand titles. It begins with Carlos Gregorio Abalos and concludes with Diego Barros Arana. Only a few illustrative items may here be mentioned. Among the works of Rómulo Ahumada Maturana is mentioned his article in volumes V. and VI. of the *Revista de Artes y Letras* entitled "Revista de Revistas", which is the most complete bibliography of twenty-six Chilean periodicals that has ever been published. On pages 70-77 is printed a list of about two hundred items composing the published writings of the distinguished publicist and author, Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Over twenty pages are devoted to the writings of the eminent Chilean historian, Diego Barros Arana. These pages include the titles of the chapters in the sixteen volumes of his monumental *Historia Jeneral de Chile*. Not only does Vaisse print comprehensive lists of the writings of Chilean authors, with the dates

of the various editions of their works, but he also furnishes bibliographical data concerning certain of these authors and brief biographical notes.

Thus the bibliographical dictionary alone bids fair to be a monumental work. By this initial volume, which deserves to be ranked with the bibliographical productions of J. T. Medina, the author, and the National Library of Chile, under whose patronage the work is being published, have earned the gratitude of every student of Spanish-American history.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

*Memorias de Urquinaona (Comisionado de la Regencia Española para la Pacificación del Nuevo Reino de Granada).* [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid: Editorial-América, Sociedad Española de Librería. [1917.] Pp. 383.)

*Memorias de William Bennet Stevenson, sobre las Campañas de San Martín y Cochrane en el Perú.* Versión Castellana de LUIS DE TERÁN; Noticia sobre Stevenson por DIEGO BARROS ARANA. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917.] Pp. 300.)

*Memorias Póstumas del General José María Paz.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917.] Pp. 491.)

APART from their intrinsic interest, these three additions to the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* exemplify in striking fashion the general purpose of the series. They set forth markedly divergent viewpoints in contemporary description of the struggle for independence in Spanish South America. Written respectively by a Spaniard, an Englishman, and a Spanish American, they are pervaded with a racial psychology that reinforces the personal attitude of the authors when narrating events or judging the conduct of individuals. Testimony of the sort is particularly serviceable to the historian who handles sources so intensely partizan in form, spirit, and expression as those of the period in question.

The *Memorias de Urquinaona* is a reprint of a work published at Madrid in 1820. Its author, Pedro de Urquinaona y Pardo, was an official in the Spanish colonial office. Believing that the causes of rebellion in the viceroyalty of New Granada could be removed by a policy of concession and tolerance, he obtained from the Regency at Cadiz permission to attempt a reconciliation with the mother-country. On his arrival at La Guaira, in March, 1813, he found Venezuela suffering under the reign of terror introduced by the captain-general, Domingo de Monteverde. All his efforts at pacification proving fruitless, he gave up the mission in despair five months later, and returned to Spain. While in Venezuela he had collected a large amount of

material relative to the origin and progress of the revolutionary movement. This he supplemented by research in the Spanish archives, and cast the whole into the form of a documentary history covering the period from July, 1808, to August, 1813; but he had to wait until the mutiny of 1820 before he dared give it to the press.

The idea running through the work is, that the revolution in Venezuela was due far less to the desire of the colonists for independence than to the cruel methods of repression adopted by the Spanish authorities there. Started by a few malcontents, the uprising could easily have been quelled, if the excessive rigor of the captain-general and his henchmen had not driven the people to desperation, converting a majority of loyal subjects into an overwhelming number of opponents of Spanish rule, and a comparatively simple contest for the maintenance of order into a war of extermination. What Urquinaona saw and heard during his brief stay in the country would seem to bear out the truth of his opinion to the fullest. The account he renders of events prior to his arrival is less worthy of credence, and contains numerous errors or misjudgments.

In several respects the present edition is made to differ from the original. The jocose reason adduced by the "Editorial-América" (p. 10) for abbreviating the lengthy title bestowed by the author himself on his production into "Memorias", is quite misleading. Urquinaona called his work a "documented narrative", and rightly so. "Memorias" is not a term applicable to a treatise only forty-two pages of which (324-366) have to do with personal reminiscences, and these told in five official despatches. The original, furthermore, appeared in two parts separately numbered, whereas the pagination in the new version is continuous. Wherever the paragraphs seemed too long they have been broken up. Sectional headings are provided, some of them derived from marginal annotations by Urquinaona on a unique copy of the work owned by the editor. Both in the text and in the notes, also, the spelling has been modernized or corrected at times, but not in the case of English words.

The *Memorias* of William Bennet Stevenson is a translation into Spanish of the third volume of a condensed French version, published in 1826, of *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, brought out in London the year before. Like its French predecessor—though without allusion to the fact on the title-page—it appends a continuation of the story from the point where Stevenson left off, in 1823, up to the meeting of the Congress at Panamá, in 1826. As stated in the prefatory note, taken from Diego Barros Arana's *Historia Jeneral de Chile*, the author went to South America aboard a British smuggler. After a series of adventures in Chile and Peru he became private secretary of the president of Quito. At the outbreak of the revolution in that presidency he was appointed governor of a province by the local junta, only to fall into the hands

of the loyalists from whom he managed to escape to Peru. Here he remained until 1819, when he took advantage of the arrival of the Chilean squadron under Lord Cochrane to abandon Spanish territory altogether. Entering the service of that officer, in the capacity of secretary, Stevenson accompanied him throughout the subsequent campaigns up to 1823.

Because of the exceptional opportunities for observation afforded during so long a residence, the author left an unusually valuable record of contemporary life in Chile, Peru, and Ecuador as an intelligent foreigner saw it. Unlike most of his countrymen who enlisted in the patriot armies or navies, he knew the Spanish Americans well before he threw in his lot with them. Though not very orderly in the arrangement of his material, Stevenson tells his story in a simple, natural fashion, with a due subordination of self and a fair regard for precision of statement. When he comes to speak of the course of the revolution between 1819 and 1823, however, he displays considerable partiality for his countryman and superior officer, Cochrane, and manifests an appreciation for Bolívar which appears to have been evoked more by his vicarious dislike for San Martín than by any personal knowledge he could have had of the Venezuelan leader himself. The continuation of the work by the French translator up to 1826 is a superficial, and often unreliable, summary in which the most interesting feature, perhaps, is the account given of the assassination of Monteagudo.

Unless it be a case merely of following the lines of least linguistic resistance, the reviewer finds it hard to understand why the defective French version, and not the English original, which is quite as accessible, should have been selected for the present translation. Doubtless the French editor was "*mediocrísimo y presuntuoso*" (p. 10) in taking the liberties he did with Stevenson's text; but that circumstance in itself ought to have been sufficient to justify an abstention from using his material at all. No great loss would have been suffered, and a real advantage would have been gained, if readers of Spanish had been made directly acquainted with what the Englishman wrote, by means of a careful translation of the original in its entirety and a corresponding omission of the French continuation, which in no sense can be classed as "*memorias*".

The English text contains 467 pages, divided into thirteen chapters, as against 206 in the Spanish edition, divided into twelve. Although the chapter headings of the original are retained, their presence is deceptive, since no indication is anywhere furnished that more than half of the work has been elided, that the paragraphing has been arbitrarily shifted and the spelling of proper names changed, and that actual statements have been modified—all without the warning of asterisk, footnote, or any other device known to an editor.

Quite different from the foregoing in scene, circumstance, personali-

ties, and method of treatment are the posthumous memoirs of José María Paz, a young Argentine officer of artillery who took an active part in the struggle for the emancipation of southern South America from the control of Spain, and against the tendency toward political disintegration which was more noticeable there than almost anywhere else on the continent. Except for its omission of portraits and plans, the present work is a reprint of that portion of the second edition of the original, published in three volumes at La Plata in 1892, which dealt with the period from 1810 to 1825. It contains, not only the memoirs proper, but fragmentary accounts by Belgrano of his expedition to Paraguay and the battle of Tucumán, together with critical notes and comments by Paz himself, a vaguely brief biographical sketch of the author, and an appendix, consisting mainly of a quotation from the life of Paz written by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and illustrative of the former's career in Argentina and Uruguay between 1825 and 1828. The sole editorial novelty of any sort in the new version is a foot-note on page 469.

More truly a series of realistic impressions of men and events than the personal recollections of many of his contemporaries, the memoirs of General Paz begin with a vivid description of the battles of Tucumán, Salta, Vilcapugio, and Ayohuma. They proceed then to characterize with merciless vigor the pretensions and the weaknesses of leaders, both political and military, no less than the lack of discipline and the spread of insubordination among the soldiers, which were responsible in large measure for the failure of the patriots to overthrow the Spanish power in what is now Bolivia. Toward their close the memoirs provide a spirited account of the civil wars that ensued in the La Plata country and of the rise of the "caudillos", or partizan chieftains, who were destined unhappily to play so sinister a rôle in the later development of the Spanish-American republics.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America.* By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy, Victoria University of Manchester. (Manchester, University Press, 1916, pp. 32.) To Dr. G. Elliot Smith we are indebted for a series of invaluable anatomical studies and investigations of difficult problems in the physical anthropology of the Nile peoples. In the little treatise under discussion, however, he has departed from the field in which he has displayed such enviable competence, and has attacked a formidable group of problems, chiefly archaeological, but likewise involving researches of almost unlimited scope in history, sociology, religion, ethnology, and related subjects.

The contention which he sets up is, in his own words: "That the

essential elements of the ancient civilizations of India, Further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and America were brought in succession to each of these places by mariners, whose oriental migrations (on an extensive scale) began as trading intercourse between the Eastern Mediterranean and India some time after 800 B. C." The civilization thus distributed the author maintains was "derived largely from Egypt" but with "many important accretions and modifications" from the surrounding world of the Near Orient. He further contends that "the reality of these migrations and this spread of culture is substantiated (and dated) by the remarkable collection of extraordinary practices and fantastic beliefs which these ancient mariners distributed along a well-defined route from the Eastern Mediterranean to America".

Space prevents an enumeration of this list of evidences, but it will be seen at once that the scope of the questions involved is enormous. There is not an historian, archaeologist, or anthropologist living, who possesses full competence over all the vast area involved. The author maintains that the mariners in question were Phoenicians, but at the very outset it should be remembered that we still lack a critical and comprehensive study of Phoenician history and archaeology. It must be admitted at once that the Phoenicians achieved far more than the current reaction against their influence recognizes. Even to the casual but open-minded observer, it is also evident that much Eastern Mediterranean influence, especially that of Egypt, passed by way of the Red Sea into the maritime world of the Far East. Before such far-reaching conclusions as those of Dr. Smith can be successfully discussed, however, a formidable amount of spade work must be done in detailed investigations covering a colossal array of subjects and a whole group of highly specialized disciplines.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

*The Prosecution of Jesus: its Date, History, and Legality.* By Richard Wellington Husband, Professor of the Classical Languages in Dartmouth College. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1916, pp. vii, 302.) It is unfortunately not possible to congratulate the writer of this book on having added to our knowledge of the difficult subject which he has undertaken. Professor Husband tries to establish the thesis that the real trial of Jesus was before Pilate, and that the proceedings of the Sanhedrin were parallel to those of a grand jury. The whole case was one of Roman, not of Jewish law.

This is, perhaps, an arguable case; but when its defense is presented in Professor Husband's manner it cannot expect attention from those who are acquainted with critical studies of the New Testament. The first requisite for such a task is to understand the nature of the Synoptic tradition. It must regretfully be said that Professor Husband does not appear to the reviewer to possess this requisite. He had better speak for himself:



In the effort to secure an understanding of the exact course of events in these proceedings, we are confronted with the greatest difficulties. The Gospel narratives are somewhat confused, and superficially at least are inconsistent. In this situation several methods are open. The method most frequently pursued is that of putting together the four accounts in the Gospels, and of regarding all the incidents related in all four as historically accurate. Or, the earliest of the narratives, that of Mark, may be selected and made the basis, and everything that does not appear there be examined carefully before it is accepted as reliable. Or, that account which appears most reasonable may be chosen, and may be adopted as the genuine, or sole, authority. Or finally, one may choose the eclectic method of piecing together, and of rejecting what does not seem to harmonize with the progress of the episode as it is conceived. Each of these is open to objection, but probably the first is least objectionable, since it does not permit one to be swayed by his personal, and prior, convictions (pp. 105-106).

This is to return, critically speaking, to the Dark Ages.

This is not the only serious defect in the book. The whole question of the chronology of the Gospels is, of course, very difficult. Professor Husband repeats some of the usual arguments and comes to the result that he favors the year 33 for the Crucifixion. He seems to overestimate the value of the chronology of Luke and greatly to underestimate the difficulty of identifying Jewish feasts by astronomical methods; but the worst accusation to be brought against him is that when an argument is inconvenient he has no mercy on it. The Gospels tell us that John the Baptist was beheaded before Jesus was crucified; but Josephus implies that he was beheaded about 35 A. D. All that Professor Husband has to say is that "existing evidence, apart from the New Testament, is in favor of placing the beheading of John some time after the latest date that can possibly be assigned for the crucifixion of Jesus. *Since the evidence is discordant, the event must be excluded from all consideration* (p. 64)". The italics, which are the reviewer's, may serve to draw attention to the elevation to the rank of a critical canon of a method which is more often practised than praised.

K. LAKE.

*The Main Manuscript of Konungs Skuggsjá in Phototypic Reproduction with Diplomatic Text.* Edited for the University of Illinois by George T. Flom. (Urbana, Ill., the University of Illinois, 1915, pp. lxxvii, [351].) The "King's Mirror" is a didactic work of the encyclopaedic type composed in Norway about the middle of the thirteenth century. There have been three earlier editions of this work, but in faithful and accurate reproduction of the original forms none of these can compare with Professor Flom's "American Facsimile Edition". The work was undertaken some years ago and was practically completed in 1915, which is given as the date of publication; but owing to the difficulties of ocean transportation (the text was printed in Copen-

hagen) actual publication was delayed till 1916. In its present form the "King's Mirror" will be of peculiar interest to the student of the Germanic dialects; but it is also an important source for the study of medieval culture and civilization. Professor Flom has prefaced the edition with an extended introduction which is devoted chiefly to a discussion of problems of palaeography. It may be added that the care of the editor is matched by the art of the book-maker: the printer, the binder, and the photographer have combined to produce a work of rare beauty.

*Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth, Queen of England.* By Arthur Jay Klein, Professor of History in Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xi, 218.) If Professor Klein had called his book a brief sketch of ecclesiastical controversies during the reign of Elizabeth and had made no pretensions beyond a careful restatement of the conclusions already reached by competent scholars, the book could have been commended as vital, interesting, and for the most part accurate. But as a history of intolerance during the reign of Elizabeth—it must be said in all kindness—the book possesses the remarkable deficiency of saying very little about it. It refers to much of the material from which such a history ought to be written, but Professor Klein has not succeeded in achieving the task. He has written two brief essays on intolerance, his introduction and his conclusion, both succinct, lucid, and suggestive, and between them he seems to have placed a brief ecclesiastical history of Elizabeth's reign in which intolerance as such plays little or no part, and which unfortunately seems to have little generic relation to the propositions of his introduction or conclusion.

Many will question his contention that the study of intolerance has hitherto confined itself to the Established Church and to the government, to the exclusion of the Protestant groups. Certainly, if previous efforts had been inadequate, it was hardly probable that he could fill the need for more extended treatment in a portion only of an essay itself less than two hundred pages long. What he says about the Protestant sects is on the whole well said, but it is hardly new, nor can one feel sure that Mr. Klein has made himself at home in the intricacies of the debates over the true form of church government and the veritable primitive Christianity. Without one's wishing to be captious or unsympathetic with an attempt which possesses many creditable and encouraging features, the long bibliography and the acknowledgments in the preface nevertheless raise expectations of a more extended study of manuscript and printed sources than the text substantiates, for the great majority of its details are supported abundantly by standard secondary authorities and the foot-notes are devoted mainly to Strype, the Parker Society's publications, and the *State Papers, Domestic*. The critical apparatus is moreover unconvincing because too many of the

foot-notes are appended to statements too familiar to need substantiation in an essay not primarily concerned with establishing the sequence of events. If Mr. Klein's true conclusion has not escaped him, he has hardly succeeded in emphasizing it. Elizabeth's reign has seemed to most students more instructive as a chapter in the history of the dawn of toleration than as a typical example of intolerance. Is there not much to be said, both cogent and instructive, upon Elizabeth's policy from the point of view of toleration defined as a relative indifference to religious dogmatism and to controversies about church government because of the supreme significance attached to the political and diplomatic situation?

ROLAND G. USHER.

*The Leveller Movement: a Study in the History and Political Theory of the English Great Civil War.* By Theodore Calvin Pease, Ph.D., Associate in History, University of Illinois. (Washington, American Historical Association, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. ix, 406.) There is one sentence in this excellent monograph which may well stand at once as a motto and as an inspiration for all such work. Concerning Mr. Gooch's *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, Mr. Pease observes: "It represents all that scholarship can do with broad fields of thought in the absence of monographic material." It is not, perhaps, to be anticipated that, within any reasonable length of time, we shall have the whole field of human history covered with such detail as, let us say, the French Revolution, the period of the English Civil Wars, or certain epochs in the history of Germany. But it is toward that desirable consummation that the long and patient toil of investigators must direct itself, and the steady flow of such studies as this gives promise of an approach to that ideal. In particular, so far as English history is concerned, is this true of the era of the Puritan Revolution. From Forster to Schoolcraft and Gardiner we now know, to take one instance of many, enough about the Grand Remonstrance to depend upon. The main parties to the great controversy have been exhaustively treated, but with Mr. Berens's "Diggers" and this volume on the Levellers, with studies of Prynne and Harrington, Ludlow and Harrison, we come to a truer conception of those extraordinary cross-currents which swept across England in the years between 1640 and 1660. Mr. Pease has done a good piece of work, not only in the Levellers generally, but upon Lilburne in particular. He has not attempted to trace what may be called the origins of the Leveller movement back of 1640, nor the social and economic factors which produced that school. Probably his reasons of space forbade. But in the second instance, particularly in view of the lack of an adequate social-economic history of the period, we should be exceedingly glad to have just that information which Mr. Pease undoubtedly possesses. The lack of manuscript material for such a study in contro-

versy is not so serious. But, one may be permitted to add, it is unfortunate that space limitations prevented the inclusion of the bibliography in full, for which many students of the period would have been very grateful. Finally, Mr. Pease is quite right in his admission that his study is "avowedly sympathetic". Whatever the admirable qualities of Lilburne and his fellow-Levellers, however glad one may be that such doctrines as they advocated found voice, it still remains a question whether, in their own day, they helped or hindered real progress. And, as one would be glad of more statement of the situation which produced them as a social phenomenon, so one would welcome a fuller statement of their practical as well as their theoretical contribution to politics. It is to be hoped that Mr. Pease will add to his excellent study a supplementary treatise on their relations to every-day affairs, apart from the realm of political theory. For such a study no one is so well qualified.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*My Russian and Turkish Journals.* By the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917, pp. ix, 350.) Lady Dufferin would feel either amused or horrified to think that these journals were to be submitted to critical review; or that they were to be estimated for anything other than what they really are: a casual record of the trivial commonplaces of an ambassador's household. A notice after the title-page announces the author's purpose "to present the proceeds of this book to War Charities". The intention we commend more than the language in which it is phrased. For the unhappy word *charity*, in its sense of Victorian patronizing, is one we should like to unlearn; and certainly no more incongruous term could apply to a contribution for war relief. Saving this single jarring note, suggestive of Lady Dufferin's own bygone generation, we are quite disposed to take this book in the spirit in which it is offered, as a somewhat unusual memento for a war subscription.

Lady Dufferin resided in Petrograd when Lord Dufferin was British ambassador there during the years 1879-1881, and also in Constantinople during the years 1881-1884. She accompanied him when he was detached from Constantinople temporarily on a special mission to Egypt, subsequent to the bombardment of Alexandria. How much Lady Dufferin knew or understood of her husband's diplomacy during this fateful period of the Eastern Question, her journals do not reveal. They are as free from political information, or from details of historical interest, as though they had been specially censored with that idea in view. Instead, they recount at length the management of garden parties, bazaars, Christmas-trees, aquatic sports, dances, and entertainments of all kinds. With a flourish of triumph and proud achievement at the end Lady Dufferin prints her "charity" balance-sheet, showing that she cleared for worthy objects during these few years at Constantinople almost forty-five thousand dollars. Little wonder that when the Sultan wanted

to raise funds for sufferers from the Smyrna earthquake, he insisted upon Lady Dufferin undertaking a bazaar, even though Lord Dufferin was not doyen of the diplomatic corps! If there be such a thing as an instinct for bazaars, Lady Dufferin had it; she was notoriously successful in using her high social patronage to gather in money for public purposes. This book is an example in point. Under an attractive title it contains a miscellaneous assortment of useless chit-chat, the publication of which only a bazaar motive could possibly justify. It is to be hoped the war-relief funds may realize handsomely from the book: it is further to be hoped that few of the purchasers will experience the surprise of reading it and of discovering that they have been most amiably and most pleasingly victimized.

C. E. FRYER.

*International Cases, Arbitrations, and Incidents illustrative of International Law as practised by Independent States.* Volume II. *War and Neutrality.* By Ellery C. Stowell, Associate Professor of International Law in Columbia University, and Henry F. Munro, Lecturer in International Law in Columbia University. (Boston, New York, Chicago, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xvii, 662.) The second volume of this case-book follows in general plan that of the earlier volume. The authors justify the space allotted to incidents of the present war.

In time of war acts of governments and those for whom they stand responsible are to be judged upon the facts as they appear at the time, especially when the government concerned makes no effort to furnish the evidence which it has at its disposal, or which it might procure. Hence it is that a collection of cases to serve as a basis for the study of the law of war and neutrality ought to be made *flagrante bello*.

Those who insist upon the historical development of international law will hardly agree to so summary a dismissal of the past. That such a compilation of material offers abundant exercise for the critical faculty, there is no question; but it does not make a case-book as a basis for instruction in international law in the sense in which that term has come to be used. Such a method produces a volume of collateral readings of illustrative material requiring some basis of text or other more or less dogmatic exposition. That this is true the authors acknowledge by suggesting "explanations of the instructor or further investigation of the authorities". So might the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* be used, but only as a horrible example, and not as a source of international law. The authors have shown impartiality of choice in the selection of materials, and, generally, impartiality as to comment thereon. On the "doctrine of ultimate consumption", however, the text is original with the authors, and for it Dr. Stowell assumes responsibility. We are told that the Entente Allies have "deformed" the recognized principles of international law. Elsewhere the opposition of the authors to Great

Britain's "blockade" policy is apparent. The *Lusitania* case, however, is presented objectively, as are the Cavell and Fryatt cases. What is perhaps the *fons et origo* of all the series of maritime reprisals, the mining of the high seas and the proclamation of strategic areas, cannot be fully understood from the extracts printed. The White Book issued by the Department of State April 4, 1917, and since this volume was printed, supplies very necessary links in the development of this highly important matter.

All in all, it is difficult to say where this book leads: when it discloses what international law is, and when it sets forth what international law is not. It contains valuable materials certainly, but it proceeds upon no recognized system of arrangement; important sections of the law of war in the larger sense are omitted, as for instance, the legal results of a state of war, except as to days of grace and treatment of resident alien enemies; and what must still be considered as a prime source of the law of neutrality, the decisions of British and American courts, is relatively neglected. For an advanced course conducted under skillful leadership, the book should prove a stimulating accessory. It should be valuable as a work of reference, if used with caution. But as a case-book for primary purposes of class-room instruction, it presents seemingly insurmountable difficulties.

J. S. R.

*Termination of War and Treaties of Peace.* By Coleman Phillipson, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. (London, T. Fisher Unwin, [1916], pp. xix, 486.) To apply the well-worn adjective "timely" at this juncture to a treatise upon peace negotiations and treaties might seem to be rather vaguely anticipatory. The dearth of modern works in English, or for that matter in any language, upon the large and important subject of treaty-making and interpretation, as well as upon the special subject of peace treaties, is a sufficient reason for the appearance of this carefully prepared volume. It has an additional value in furnishing a standard of criticism for the future arrangements by which the present war will be terminated. Dr. Phillipson has not attempted a discursive or, save in a few instances, argumentative treatment of the subject. He has carefully compiled the provisions of peace treaties from Westphalia to Bucharest. He has sought to produce a work which is "on the one hand, a comparative and analytical study, based for the most part on original documents . . . and, on the other hand, a synthetic presentation of conclusions derived from such analysis and application of first principles".

Wars have not always ended by treaties of peace, but sometimes by the extinction of states, by subjugation and conquest. Therefore the author begins with the examination of the legal results of war: the change from military occupation to the extension of sovereignty by the conqueror over the conquered territory through state succession. The doctrine of postliminy he generally rejects as not in harmony with mod-

ern international law and "serving but to obscure rules intrinsically simple and intelligible" (p. 232). The main portion of the work is devoted to the termination of war by treaties of peace, from the cessation of hostilities through preliminary *pourparlers* and protocols to treaty negotiations and the content of the formal instrument. In this part he has depended mainly upon international practice of the past century, and little that is purely theoretical is introduced by way of discussion or comment. Such a treatment does not make a text easy to read. It is in many respects an annotated digest of the various international documents. Analyzed and arranged as the material is, it becomes a reference work of much value and great convenience. The appendix, "a century of peace treaties", 1815-1913, gives the texts, usually complete, of the twenty-six peace treaties since Waterloo.

The book as a whole is characterized by breadth of view, conservatism of statement, and clarity of expression. It very certainly does what its author hoped it might do: "It fills a gap in the literature of international law and international relations."

J. S. R.

*The Colonial Tariff Policy of France.* By Arthur Girault, Professor of Political Economy in the Law Faculty of the University of Poitiers. Edited by Charles Gide, Professor of Economics in the University of Paris. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, Humphrey Milford, 1916, pp. viii, 305.) This book deals with the evolution and the results of the colonial tariff policy of France. As the author correctly points out, one cannot reduce this policy to a single all-embracing formula. He therefore traces step by step the treatment accorded to different colonies of France at different periods of her history. Beginning with the policy of exclusion under the ancient régime and bringing his discussion down to tariff assimilation under the present republic he reviews the various measures passed by the mother-country in order to regulate the commerce of her colonies; he considers the purposes and the validity of these measures in the light of economic and political conditions existent at the time of their enactment and he indicates the rôles played in the promulgation of each act by various forces which mould the life of a nation; he brings out clearly the influence of private interests upon legislation as well as the pressure of public opinion and of abstract ideas of right and wrong.

Professor Girault is at his best in the historical and descriptive parts of the work. A certain looseness and inconsistency characterizes his generalizations and his deductions as well as his reasoning as to the policy which France of to-day should pursue towards some of her colonies. He enunciates a truth when he states that a colonial policy animated by a spirit of exclusion easily becomes a source of dissensions and of wars; but this does not prevent him from being fully in accord



with the policy which France pursues in Algeria, a policy of assimilation which under a high protective tariff is not far different from that of exclusion; he even goes so far as to advocate the adoption of a similar policy for Tunis. With regard to other colonial possessions the writer is in favor of customs autonomy or "personality". Apparently his studies convinced him that assimilation proved injurious to the colonists, not one of the assimilated colonies, outside of Algeria, being satisfied with its lot. A few French manufacturers benefited, but their benefit was obtained at the expense of the colonial inhabitants, who were prevented from buying and selling in the nearest markets.

The "bringing together of producer and consumer" idea, enunciated by Carey, is accepted by Mr. Girault, who considers it as one of the important arguments in favor of a protective system. He does not stop to inquire whether goods would be transported if their transportation was really useless and if it represented, as he says, "a real cost in time and expense" (p. 282) as compared with domestic transportation.

The author seems also to be quite satisfied that "political domination" over the colonies constitutes "a considerable advantage for the national industry, an advantage perhaps even more important than that resulting from the application of the national tariff" (p. 283). If it is true that "commerce follows the flag" (p. 5), if the flag is the leading factor in the development of business relations, then colonies will always remain "an apple of discord among nations", and Professor Girault's attempt to brush aside the difficulty by stating that "there is room for all in all colonies" (p. 5) will not suffice to prevent the spirit of conquest from finding an "echo or support in the world of business".

The real merit of this work lies in the analysis of the causes of the colonial tariff policies under the changing governments of France and in a careful presentation of the effect of these policies upon the economic status of each colony; as such it forms an important contribution to the study of the subject.

SIMON LITMAN.

*The Menace of Japan.* By Frederick McCormick. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1917, pp. vi, 372.) It is difficult to write a serious review of a book which no thoughtful reader could for a moment take seriously. Such a book is *The Menace of Japan* by Frederick McCormick. According to the author "Japan is a world ogre, as shown throughout every civilized land east and west". The present "menace", however, is functioning primarily in China, and the book purports to describe the many instances in which Japan has ridden roughshod over American rights and interests in that arena. The author's only solution is war. He rejects all means of arriving at any understanding, for he believes we are obliged "to inculcate among coming and present Americans the principles of war with Japan". Little is said about the immigration question—that depends upon the outcome of the war we must fight in Asia.

Shorn of its repetitions, its involved and at times unintelligible phraseology, and its amazing figures of speech, the text could be reduced to about one-third its size. Offering no new information, it deals with the Portsmouth Treaty, the Harriman railway schemes in Manchuria, the Hukuang loan, the currency loan, the Knox neutralization proposal, the Russo-Japanese entente, and the withdrawal of American shipping from the Pacific. It is concerned primarily with questions of commerce and finance. Japan is held responsible for every set-back which American enterprise has received, although at times the "predatory pack" of Manchurian allies, including Japan, Russia, France, and England, share the blame, with Japan always as the masterful leader.

Mr. McCormick, however, would prove too much. He himself tells us that Secretary Root, President Wilson, Senator LaFollette, and others have helped to force the United States out of the Far East. And he leaves out of consideration two very important factors. Japan, by geographical location, has greater vital interests in China than any third power, east or west. And if the "Open Door" is preserved there it must be largely done by the Chinese themselves. For the United States and Japan to become involved in war over the "Open Door" or the integrity of China would be wicked and futile. It might be well to wait and see how the readjustments after the "Great War" affect the Far East. The present volume need not be taken too seriously. The perusal of a few pages will show how loosely the author writes and reasons. His historical allusions are frequently amusing, and at times amazing, and his careless use of such terms as "possession", "domination", "command of the Pacific", "monopoly", "Open Door", is disconcerting. He might well have taken to heart one of his own dicta: "Not only can no man judge to-day what a people may be tomorrow: he cannot with appreciable certainty determine wholly what they are to-day."

*Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States.* By George R. Putnam. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xiii, 308.) There is many an American who thinks it no blemish on his patriotism to think ill of his government, perhaps because Congress does not abound in wisdom, or perhaps because the Cabinet is not selected from his own party. The holder of such opinions might often be led into more cheerful views if he could make thorough acquaintance, from the inside, with any one of many bureaus of the executive branch of the federal government, and could see with what intelligence and devotion it is managed—intelligence and devotion which, by the way, have greatly increased in the last fifteen years. Among such divisions of the executive government the lighthouse service has always taken a high rank. It may fairly be called a model of competent administration and scientific ingenuity in the general staff and of faithfulness, endurance, and helpfulness in the rank and file; and Mr. Putnam's ex-

position of its history, plant, equipment, operations, and personnel is also a model. The competence of the descriptive part is assured by the fact that the author has for several years been commissioner of lighthouses—a fact nowhere mentioned in his modest volume. The historical portions, written in a plain style but not without appreciation of the elements of interest involved, present the story of many of the older lighthouses, beginning with Boston Light in 1716, an account of the development of federal lighthouse administration from the legislation of 1789 to 1910, and a variety of incidents illustrative of engineering skill on the one hand or of personal heroism on the other. For the material in these historical pages, colonial newspapers and local histories have to some extent been drawn upon, but chiefly the valuable manuscript records of the lighthouse service itself. It is much to be wished that many another bureau of the government might have its history and operations described in the same competent and entertaining way. Mr. Putnam's volume ought surely to enhance greatly the general public's interest in the lighthouse service and appreciation of its invaluable and devoted work.

*Benjamin Franklin, Printer.* By John Clyde Oswald. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, for the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, 1917, pp. xv, 224.) Mr. Oswald, editor of the *American Printer*, frankly tells how his book came to be written, and limited in time by a need of meeting a certain occasion—the convention of the Associated Advertising Clubs in Philadelphia—he admits that the work was “performed somewhat hurriedly”. A collector of Franklin material, he had long cherished a wish to write such a book, but the result cannot be regarded as a successful use of the available material. It is rather a sketch of a part of Franklin's life, with special reference to his printing achievements, some of the chapters having little connection with that subject. A suggestion on the printers who came before Franklin begins the volume, and the well-known events in Franklin's early life—the *New England Courant*, his escape to Philadelphia, Keith's default, his London experience, and his return to Philadelphia—are once more related. Of Franklin as a real printer, journalist, and almanac-maker there was little to tell that was new without a somewhat technical and bibliographical investigation of the subject, or, at least, a careful study of the Franklin manuscripts. This Mr. Oswald does not appear to have done, or he could hardly have failed to discover the important series of letters from James Parker to Franklin, which have been printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The single letter of Parker, drawn from another source, which he does print is worth many pages of his own writing. He has quoted from such authorities as P. L. Ford, Smyth, Hildeburn, and Livingston, but the general impression left on the reader is that the study would have gained much by concentration on Franklin, the printer. Livingston's

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account of Franklin's press at Passy shows what a field exists for such a study, and the material is abundant. Mr. Oswald has compiled a popular account of Franklin, and the many illustrations give his volume a value apart from the text; but he has hardly scratched the surface of the subject.

*Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by Louise Phelps Kellogg. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXIII., Draper Series, vol. IV.] (Madison, Wis., the Society, 1916, pp. 509.) In this volume Miss Kellogg has edited a series of documents descriptive of frontier defense on the upper Ohio, the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers, covering a period of fifteen months, from May, 1778, to July, 1779. The volume is a continuation of three volumes issued in former years entitled respectively *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, and *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1774-1778*, which were edited under the joint supervision of Miss Kellogg and the late Dr. Thwaites. This series, which has been supported hitherto by the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, has now, with the present volume, been taken over by the Wisconsin Historical Society. Future volumes designed to cover the frontier history of the entire Revolutionary period are also promised.

In the present volume the documents are taken mainly from the Draper Collection in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The Washington Papers in the Library of Congress are also drawn upon for a considerable number. There are in all about 250 original documents; of this number about sixty-six come from the Washington Papers, and about twenty-five from the letter-books of Col. George Morgan. This is in striking contrast to the policy followed in the previous volumes of the series, which restricted the publication almost wholly to the Draper Collection. Another innovation is the printing of summaries of some fifty-five documents which have been printed in other collections. About a dozen "Recollections" of participants in the border struggles, obtained by the late Dr. Draper years after the events happened, are included.

Prefaced by a well-written introduction, based upon the documents which follow, the volume picks up the thread of the narrative beginning with the recall of General Hand from the command of the Continental troops at Fort Pitt and surrounding territory and the succession of General McIntosh, the personal choice of Washington for the western command. The sundry projects for an expedition to Detroit, Niagara, and into the Ohio country, the negotiations and treaties with the Delaware and other Indian nations, and the various measures for the defense of the border settlements against the counter-attacks of the British and Indians are illustrated in detail. Failure in most of the larger offensive

enterprises was due to the machinations of such men as Col. George Morgan, Indian agent in the West, and his friends, the lack of intelligent co-operation between the Continental and Virginia forces, and the general ignorance of Congress as to western conditions. But despite this general lack of harmony, with the resulting lamentable failure so frequently suggested throughout the documents, the small Continental force performed a signal service in holding the frontier intact until the more spectacular expedition of George Rogers Clark had removed the British menace from the West.

The volume is accompanied by a wealth of explanatory foot-notes and a complete index. In mechanical appearance and in execution it is far superior to any of its predecessors and is in harmony with forms now fast becoming standard.

C. E. CARTER.

*The Jumel Mansion, being a full History of the House on Harlem Heights built by Roger Morris before the Revolution, together with some Account of its more notable Occupants.* By William Henry Shelton. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xii, 257.) It may be said at once that this sumptuous volume will be—in all probability—the authoritative source on the famous mansion and its occupants. The author is the curator of the property, and has had access to many documents, and the book bears ample evidence of the extent of his researches.

Mr. Shelton describes in detail the house and its origin. He emphasizes the special features of the construction, dwells on its environment, and illustrates with a wealth of plans the arrangement of its quaint colonial rooms. The builder, Roger Morris, a British colonel, and his wife the celebrated Mary Philipse, were the earliest occupants. To them succeeded Revolutionary soldiers, and for a few weeks in the autumn of 1776 the building was Washington's headquarters. During this time occurred the battle of Harlem Heights, various courts martial and dinners, and the great fire in New York city. The American retreat caused the transfer of the mansion into British possession for the remainder of the war. On the conclusion of peace the Morris property was confiscated; it changed ownership several times, and in 1810 the title passed to the wealthy and ill-fated merchant Stephen Jumel. Its historic events had been numerous already, including a state dinner given by President Washington.

The writer recounts at considerable length the family history of the notorious Betsy Bowen who became Madame Jumel; her life in the mansion, her visits to France, her marriage to Aaron Burr, and the eccentricities and insanity of her last years. Considerable space is devoted to the *causes célèbres* in the litigation over the estate. In 1903 the house was acquired by the city. It came under the control of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was partially restored. A suggested scheme for a further scientific restoration concludes the book.

Mr. Shelton disposes of various legends: that the house was built in 1758 instead of in 1765-1766; that Mme. Jumel entertained in the mansion Lafayette and Louis Napoleon; and other pleasing fables. By far the most striking historical contribution is the author's excursus on the great fire of September, 1776, and the connection therein of Nathan Hale. His thesis briefly is: Hale was concerned in the patriotic plan to burn New York city; he was not a "spy" in the ordinary sense, and was not within the British lines for the purpose of obtaining sketches of forts; he was executed for his part in the unsuccessful incendiary attempt. These claims are supported with much marshalling of documentary evidence and plausibility of reasoning.

The reviewer has observed no slips of consequence. One may question the proportion of space allotted to the law-suits and to the unsavory chronicles of the Bowen family. The volume is well illustrated, and is a creditable and attractive addition to the list of works on famous American houses.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

*Political Opinion in Massachusetts during Civil War and Reconstruction.* By Edith Ellen Ware, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Smith College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. LXXIV., no. 2, whole no. 175.] (New York, Columbia University, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1916, pp. 219.) In the first three chapters, which occupy approximately one-third of the work, Miss Ware has made a careful study of the changes in political opinion in Massachusetts between the election of 1860 and the end of the year 1861. Changes in opinion from that time to the end of the Civil War are presented in two chapters, under the headings Emancipation and the Rise and Fall of Copperheadism. The remaining chapter is devoted in part to a detailed statement of the different theories of reconstruction prevalent in Massachusetts, and in part to a survey of political issues to the year 1876. This method brings out clearly the most striking phases of political opinion in Massachusetts during the period that Miss Ware has selected, though possibly one result is that the characteristics of the various leaders in Massachusetts and their personal careers do not stand out as they would if another method had been chosen. At the beginning of the book, in particular, one misses the characterization of these men.

The period chosen by Miss Ware offers an excellent opportunity for the study of manuscript material. The official correspondence of Governor Andrew at the State House, the Charles Sumner Papers and other collections in the Harvard University Library, the Weston and the Garrison manuscripts at the Boston Public Library, the Winthrop, Bancroft, and Schouler manuscripts, and the Amos A. Lawrence papers, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, offer a rich field, which Miss Ware has investigated with great success. She has

also made use of six volumes of privately printed *Reminiscences* and *Letters* of John Murray Forbes. In particular has she studied the newspapers of Massachusetts, and her account of the press during the sixties in appendix II. is highly interesting and valuable. If one asks for more here he would perhaps express the wish that the characterization of the Boston *Advertiser* had been as complete as is that of the Springfield *Republican*.

Many interesting points come out in the text as the result of Miss Ware's careful study of her sources—for example, the effect upon public opinion at the beginning of 1861 of the general business depression, and the opposition of the Irish newspaper in Boston to emancipation. The account of McClellan's visit to Boston early in 1863 is well worked out, and full recognition is given in both text and appendix to the importance of the New England Loyal Publication Society.

There is some carelessness in the copying of proper names, and the reference to the librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society as the late Dr. Samuel A. Green is regrettable.

*Downing's Civil War Diary.* By Sergeant Alexander G. Downing, Company E, Eleventh Iowa Infantry, Third Brigade, "Crocker's Brigade", Sixth Division of the Seventeenth Corps, Army of the Tennessee. August 15, 1861–July 31, 1865. Edited by Olynthus B. Clark, Ph.D., Professor of History in Drake University. (Des Moines, Historical Department of Iowa, 1916, pp. vi, 325.) Sergeant Downing served throughout the Civil War. He participated in thirty-eight battles and skirmishes. He was present at Shiloh and in the engagements around Vicksburg, and was with Sherman in the campaign before Atlanta and on the march through Georgia and the Carolinas.

His diary covers the entire period. Unfortunately, as published, it is not in its original form. Sergeant Downing was unwilling that it should be. It has been corrected and enlarged, the editor having used both the diary as first written and a revision prepared by Sergeant Downing in 1914, which included much additional material. The editor has performed his difficult task capably. The result, however, makes wearisome reading, for the matter added to satisfy the original diarist has overloaded the book without in any way increasing its interest or value.

But the student who persists through the three hundred pages is well rewarded. He has the story, honestly told, of the daily life of the man in the ranks in the Western armies; and he is given a picture of the best type of the American volunteer: a manly, straightforward boy, who did his duty simply and courageously.

Of special interest at this time are the entries telling of the gathering of the volunteers in the early months of the war; their training, or rather lack of training, and the unnecessary hardships to which they were subjected through the inefficiency of authorities ignorant of mili-



tary administration and organization. The men themselves were of the best fighting stock, young and adventurous. The entry describing the composition of Sergeant Downing's company is worth quoting:

My company, E, has ninety-seven men. They are of several different nationalities; as follows: Three from Canada, four from Ireland, two from England, two from Germany, and one from France; the rest are American-born; twenty-three from Ohio, twenty-one from Pennsylvania, sixteen from New York, eight from Indiana, six from Iowa, two each from Michigan and Vermont, and one each from Maryland and Maine. The average age is less than twenty years, and there are eight married men.

Perhaps the most interesting entries in the diary are those covering the march to the sea and through the Carolinas. One is reminded of Henry W. Grady's description of General Sherman as "a kind of careless man about fire".

The book is well printed and has a full index. There is an appendix with a short autobiographical sketch, "some observations", and a roll of Company E.

*A Financial History of Texas.* By Edmund Thornton Miller, Adjunct Professor of Economics in the University of Texas. [Bulletin of the University of Texas, no. 37.] (Austin, Texas, University of Texas, 1916, pp. viii, 444.) The publication of Professor Miller's *Financial History of Texas* again calls to attention the primitive character of our financial machinery—and its message is a quiet appeal for the establishment of a budgetary régime. Not only do the records of our states afford splendid examples of finances gone wild, but those of the nation are equally wild. It is only through analyses, such as the present volume has attempted, that the serious condition of things is borne home.

It is fair to say that no state offers so rich a field for exploitation as does Texas, whose history lies across two and a quarter centuries, flecked by the flags of five several powers. In that earlier time there was some excuse for floundering—conditions were imperious, appalling; but nowadays? If one were frank and fearless fairly to criticize the administrations of to-day, it might be said that ignorance of financial devices and of the fundamental principles of budgetary operations was never more flagrantly displayed. This is indeed what the author leaves to be inferred.

In 1852 the *Fiscal History of Texas* was published by William Gouge, and not since his day to the present volume has a serious effort been made to follow the financial fortunes of Texas. Gouge's book, for the period it covers, has merit of a sort; but Professor Miller's is final. He has shown his clear thinking by recognizing economics as a large factor only in the unfolding of history. He has grouped his data under the large heads: the Spanish-Mexican Period, the Republic, the State, the Civil War, Reconstruction, etc.

Not only is his scheme excellent—he has well pursued it. His researches have been exhaustive. Naturally, the early period under Spain affords little light on the scant economic life of the colony; the Mexican period fares better in this respect, while for the republic he has ransacked the records of the Consultations, Councils, and Conventions, as well as the enactments of Congress. The financial struggles of the republic, with its utter helplessness, are admirably set out.

For the later periods, obviously, there is heavy multiplication of data, but the same careful researches have been made. The book is not a mere chronicle of legislative enactments, but the results of the operation of laws are followed, together with court decisions, etc. Even the attitude of the public towards this or that measure is pursued through the press.

All in all the work is well done. It now remains for some strong man to apply the lessons which grow out of this statement of the state's finances—in a word to reform taxes, to create a new régime, to establish a budget on modern scientific lines.

W. F. M.

*Bibliografía de Luz y Caballero.* Por Domingo Figarola-Caneda, Director de la Biblioteca Nacional de la Habana. Segunda Edición, corregida y aumentada. (Havana, Imprenta "el Siglo XX" de Aurelio Miranda, 1915, pp. xv, 272.) Though Luz y Caballero credited Padre Varela with having first taught his countrymen to think, he himself seemingly holds that place of honor in the opinion of his countrymen. His writings are, indeed, modest in volume; but he enjoyed, as scholar, educator, courageous thinker, and outspoken patriot, a rare leadership among his contemporaries; and this bibliography shows that the anniversary of his death is still annually celebrated half a century thereafter. Decidedly more than half of the 1300 items of the volume date since the beginning of Cuba's modern life in 1878.

The book contains: first, a bibliography of every bit of writing of which Luz y Caballero is known or supposed to be the author (including even reprints of single aphorisms!); second, a notice of all his likenesses (portraits, masks, statues), of every monument, tablet, and medal dedicated to his honor, of isographs, and of coats of arms, seals, and furniture associated with his life; third, a list of every book, essay, address, poem, and newspaper article of specifically biographical or critical content, and also (apparently) of every other discoverable reference to him (such as the dedication of a book, or even mere allusions).

The reviewer does not agree with Sr. Figarola (p. xiii) that the form of the bibliographical descriptions is that best calculated to make clear the nature of the prints referred to (*e. g.*, no actual dimensions are given). The book is open, also, to one criticism of substance. Everything is deliberately excluded which the compiler has not himself both seen and (p. x) retained note of. But when the inclusion of that

*seen* is even meticulous, why not include, with due disclaimer of responsibility, titles that others vouch for? Sr. Figarola's rule ignores the interests of investigators.

Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to such details, however, the book is a valuable tribute to a worthy subject, betokening a fine allegiance to letters and idealism.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

*La Trata de Negros: Datos para su Estudio en el Rio de la Plata.* Por Diego Luis Molinari. (Buenos Aires, Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1916, pp. 97, with maps.) Though Dr. Diego Luis Molinari (who studied history at the University of Illinois, and is now Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic) modestly states (p. 77) that the history of the abolition of slavery in the River Plate is yet to be written, he has contributed much valuable information in his careful study on the subject of the former negro population in what are now the republics of Argentina and Uruguay. There is probably no other instance in the history of colonization where such a large imported colored population has disappeared in such a comparatively short space of time. As in Mauritius, and in some of the northern United States, a contributory cause was the lack of economic employment for the negro slave. Dr. Molinari also furnishes in this well-documented essay much valuable material regarding the status of foreigners during the Spanish colonial era.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

## COMMUNICATION

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

*Dear Sir:*

WITH reference to the notice of my *Prolegomena to History* in the April number, may I call attention to the fact that the comments of Professor Fling are just a dogmatic reiteration of certain pronouncements in regard to history which he took over some fourteen or fifteen years ago from the German philosopher Heinrich Rickert, and that, so far as he is from addressing himself to the topic in hand, no one could discover from his remarks that the argument he now presents again had been fully considered in my publication.

The formula which Professor Fling has adopted necessitates the setting up of an opposition between "science" and "natural science", and hence he has ignored the section in which I point out that, while everyone to-day uses the word "science" in a sense to suit himself, there is a well-defined "method of science" which may be applied to any subject-matter whatsoever. It is, therefore, immaterial whether Professor Fling and Herr Rickert desire to apply the term "science" to a form of literature like historiography; what does matter is that the method of science has not been applied to the subject-matter which historiography utilizes in one particular way. The point is that Professor Fling is in the position of maintaining that the historical student is, for some unassigned reason, to be debarred from utilizing the results of historical investigation for any other purpose than the construction of a "unique synthesis".

Now, it is of the highest importance that the historical student should come to realize what this programme involves. There can be no possible objection to the maintenance of the tradition of history-writing, but it is high time we began to understand the kind of basis upon which historiography rests. Professor Fling in adopting Rickert's argument is simply using the weapon that lies to his hand in order to defend the traditional practice of historians, but he has not taken the trouble to see where his argument leads.

The methodological principle adopted by the historian is that his aim would be accomplished by stating what it was that had happened *in the form of narrative*. As a mode of explanation, however, narrative is unsatisfactory, for it can be carried out only by the selection, from among the many happenings that might be included, of such events as appear to be of importance to a particular individual at a particular time. This defect has long been recognized by the open admission that history must continually be rewritten, not so much because of the discovery of new facts, but because of the attainment in successive generations of new points of view. And here is the crux of the methodological problem for the historian: selection of facts for presentation can be made only in the light of some personal interest or general idea. Selection implies a theory of value, a basis for estimating the relative importance of events.

The most obvious basis of selection is the interest excited in the mind of the historian by the outcome of a specific series of happenings, more particularly when this takes what we speak of as a dramatic form. Nevertheless, this dramatic unity is essentially episodic, for it cannot be made applicable to history as a whole. Hence men have been driven, in the effort to create a synthesis of human events, to formulate, consciously or unconsciously, some abstract idea as to the meaning or significance of the course of history. In recent times, the most usual form of this activity has been the attempt to define the "law" or principle of "progress".

Now, such attempts to formulate a "philosophy of history" are, necessarily, based upon the presupposition that all human history constitutes a unity, that all human events may be regarded as a single, unique sequence of happenings. And the mutual dependence of the two is aptly illustrated in Professor Fling's contention that *history is the unique synthesis of human evolution*. Without postulating some philosophical principle by which unity is introduced into history, it is useless to speak of a unique sequence of events; the synthesis is entirely dependent upon the informing idea. The simple fact is that we are not presented in experience with one history, but with many. The histories of Japan, China, Turkestan, Russia, Germany, France, England, are unique, and cannot be reduced to one save by the imposition of some vague hypothesis such as that of "social evolution".

There are many histories, and this manifoldness reveals our task as historical students if we can overcome our predilection for the method of philosophy and adopt the method of science. That task is, not the writing of narratives based upon some undefined philosophy of history, but the comparison of these several histories with the object of ascertaining the elements which they exhibit in common.

In conclusion, may I say that, whether as students or as men, we cannot escape the appeal of the world-situation of to-day. Amid the turmoil, the fact stands out with painful clarity that after all the energy that has been expended upon the study of human affairs we know less about man than about any other phenomenon of nature. The question comes very close to us at the present moment whether, instead of utilizing the facts of history to construct narratives ever to be rewritten, we may not utilize these same facts to elicit scientific knowledge. What of? —of the way in which man everywhere has come to be as he is; a problem which can be dealt with only through the study of history. Is it improper for us as historical students to endeavor to contribute in some degree to the welfare of humanity? Let us remember that Darwin's imperfect analysis of the processes of biological evolution revolutionized, within a few years, our ideas of nature. Is it too daring a suggestion that the historian, through the application to his own materials of the method of science, might similarly aid in throwing light upon the obstacles and difficulties that now lie in the path of mankind?

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

From June 23 until September 18, the address of the managing editor will be J. F. Jameson, North Edgecomb, Maine. Express parcels and telegrams should, however, be addressed to Wiscasset, Maine.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The committees in charge of the thirty-third annual meeting have made such progress that it is possible to make in this issue a tentative announcement of the sort which commonly appears in our October number. The meetings will commence on Thursday morning, December 27, and will close on Saturday evening, December 29. The headquarters of the convention and the bureau of registration will be at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. On Thursday morning there will be a general session at 10 o'clock, devoted to American history, with papers probably by Professors A. C. McLaughlin and F. J. Turner. In the afternoon the conference of archivists will be held, and conferences on ancient history (probably a joint session with the Archaeological Institute of America) and on medieval and English history. These will be followed by dinners of special groups, in continuation of the practice inaugurated at Cincinnati. In the evening Mr. Worthington C. Ford will deliver the presidential address, after which there will be a reception. All the sessions of Friday will be held at the University of Pennsylvania. In the morning there will be conferences on church history (a joint session with the American Society of Church History), and on military history and war economics, as well as a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In the afternoon and evening there will be general sessions, the former on modern history, the latter probably on historiography. Luncheon and supper will be served at the University, and there will be a smoker after the evening session. On Saturday morning will be held the annual conference of historical societies, a conference on the history of the Far East, and the usual conference of history teachers, which will be a joint session with the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland. The afternoon will be devoted to the annual business meeting, and in the evening a general session, the precise nature of which has not yet been determined, will bring the meetings to a close.

The General Index to Papers and Annual Reports of the American Historical Association, prepared by David M. Matteson, has been completed in manuscript and is now in the hands of the Public Printer. It will be issued as volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1914 and will

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include all the volumes of *Papers* and *Annual Reports* to the *Annual Report* for 1914, inclusive. The *Annual Report* for 1915, in one volume, is in page-proof at the Government Printing Office and should be issued early in the fall. The *Annual Report* for 1916, in two volumes, the second volume containing the papers of R. M. T. Hunter, edited by Professor C. H. Ambler, is on the point of going to press.

#### NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

In the last days of April, under the auspices of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, a conference of some fifteen or twenty historical scholars, representing different parts of the country, was held to discuss the question, what the members of that profession, as such, could do for the government or the public in time of war. The result of their two days' discussion was the formation of a National Board for Historical Service, now organized as follows: Messrs. James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, chairman; Charles H. Hull of Cornell University, vice-chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary; Victor S. Clark of Washington, Robert D. W. Connor of North Carolina, Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin, Guy S. Ford of Minnesota, Evarts B. Greene of Illinois, Charles D. Hazen of Columbia University, Gaillard Hunt of the Library of Congress, Henry Johnson of Teachers College, and Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University. This board has been in continuous activity since early in May, as many members sojourning in Washington as can from time to time be there; it expects to continue its activities throughout the duration of the war. Its address is 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The main function of the board will be to serve the nation, in a time when the national problems of war and of ultimate peace cannot receive their best solution without the light of historical knowledge, by mediating between the possessors of such knowledge on the one hand, and on the other hand the government and the public who need it; in a word, to mobilize the historical forces of the country for all the services to which they can be put. To this end, the board endeavors to keep in relation with as many historical scholars as possible, desires their constant aid and counsel, and from large numbers of them has received the most generous promises of assistance.

While maintaining entire independence of the government, the Board is in close relations with the official Committee on Public Information and with the Bureau of Education, and has already rendered valuable services to both, by appropriate supply of historical information for their publications, and by eliciting expert opinion as to those problems of history teaching which the war has brought into existence. It has obtained the cordial co-operation of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, which will follow up with a series of articles on these new problems of historical education the bulletin on the subject, prepared by



the board, which the Bureau of Education expects to issue early in the autumn.

The board has also made arrangements with publishers, with editors of magazines, with newspapers, and with organizations which issue pamphlets, for the presentation to the public of material which it may secure from historical scholars. It has aided in organizing courses of historical lectures, bearing on the issues of the war, in various summer schools and institutes. It has directed the attention of historical societies and libraries to the importance of a timely collecting of material on the war, and has framed plans for a systematic and intelligent prosecution of such work. It has organized auxiliary committees for local co-operation, and has maintained a large and interesting correspondence with the members of the historical profession.

In all these valuable activities, the board intends to keep strictly within the lines of what is proper to historical students as such. To propagate any set of opinions, to advocate any course of policy, to swerve in any way from historical impartiality, is no part of its programme. Its doctrine is that, supplied with adequate information, the public can be trusted to choose its own political course, and that in the impartial supply of such appropriate information as is strictly historical in character there is a sufficient function for any organization of historical scholars. The reader of pages 831-835 above, will not doubt that the *American Historical Review* is strongly of this opinion, and that it will give cordial aid, whenever it can, to the operations of the board.

#### PERSONAL

Antonin Debidour, professor of history at the Sorbonne, died on February 20, 1917, aged seventy years. He began his career at the University of Nancy. He is best known for his *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe du Congrès de Vienne au Congrès de Berlin* (2 vols., 1891) and its continuation, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à Nos Jours* (2 vols., 1916-1917), which he was just completing at the time of his death (see pp. 862-864, *ante*); *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1890* (1898); and *L'Église Catholique et l'État en France sous la Troisième République* (2 vols., 1906-1909). Besides numerous other works he had edited three volumes of the *Recueil des Actes du Directoire Exécutif* (1910-1914). His death was hastened by the disappearance of his son in the war.

Prosper Cultru, professor of the history of the French colonies at the Sorbonne, died February 10, 1917, aged fifty-five years. His writings included a life of Duplex (1901), and histories of Cochín China (1909) and Senegal (1910).

Professor Paul Vinogradoff of Oxford has been knighted.

Professor St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University, has been elected to the Littlefield professorship of American history in Brown University, in succession to Professor William MacDonald.

Professor George B. Adams, who has for twenty-nine years been professor of history in Yale University, has retired from his professorship.

Dr. Francis W. Coker, of the Ohio State University, will teach in Yale University during the next academic year, taking the place of Professor Allen Johnson, whose leave of absence has been extended.

Dr. Edward L. Stevenson has a year's leave-of-absence, March to March, from his duties as secretary of the Hispanic Society of America.

Dr. Eugene M. Curtis, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Goucher College.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, now assistant professor of history in Western Reserve University, has been promoted to an associate professorship.

The University of Michigan has granted to Professor Ulrich B. Phillips a leave of absence for the first half of the academic year 1917-1918.

Professor Frederic A. Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, is lecturing on colonial history during the present summer session of Columbia University; Professor W. T. Root teaches in that of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Wallace Notestein has been promoted from the rank of associate professor to that of professor in the University of Minnesota.

Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri has been appointed professor of history in the University of Illinois. His special historical field will be ancient history in the Near East.

Professor Walter L. Fleming, head of the department of history in Louisiana State University, will give two courses in history at the summer session of the University of Texas.

In the University of California Mr. Louis J. Paetow has been advanced from an assistant professorship to an associate professorship of medieval history, and Dr. Herbert I. Priestley has been made an assistant professor.

Mr. Yamato Ichihashi of Leland Stanford University has been appointed an assistant professor of history in that university.

## GENERAL

The April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is chiefly occupied with the official report of the conference, held at the Cincinnati meeting of the American Historical Association, on Field and Method of the Elementary College Course. There is, besides, a discussion of the question What should we attempt in Collateral Reading and how shall we test it? The May number contains an article by Professor Albert E. McKinley on the War and History Teaching in Europe, which is not only informing upon some of the changes in history teaching in Europe wrought by the war but is suggestive of means and methods of bettering the teaching of patriotism and civics in this country. Other articles are: the Outline Map and how to use It, by W. L. Wallace; and the Use of Magazines in History Teaching, by Professor D. S. Duncan. The June number is devoted almost wholly to articles concerned with the entrance of the United States into the Great War. "Bobbie and the War, by Bobbie's Father", is an explanation of the more important aspects of the war, from the point of view of an American, in reply to questions propounded by a boy fourteen years old. The Great War: from Spectator to Participant, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin, is a restrained but stimulating presentation of the case of the United States. Professor Herman V. Ames discusses in a very helpful manner the question How far should the Teaching of History and Civics be used as a Means of Encouraging Patriotism? Dr. Arthur P. Scott, using the title "The Passing of Splendid Isolation", points out how the United States has become a world power, is now engaged in a world war, and "cannot honorably shirk the task of helping to forge a new world organization". Professor J. T. Shotwell gives an account of the organization of the recently constituted National Board for Historical Service and sets forth its principal aims; Professor C. D. Hazen presents a list of important books upon recent European history; and Professor G. M. Dutcher a list of books suitable for "Summer Reading on the War".

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has recently issued, as no. 26, a pamphlet of documents concerning the treaty relations between the United States and Prussia; as no. 27, a body of official documents relating to the Armed Neutrality of 1780 and 1800; and as no. 28, a body of Extracts from American and Foreign Works on International Law, concerning those neutral agreements. The Endowment expects before long to issue a large volume of the reports made to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 by the several commissions which prepared the conventions and declarations of those conferences, together with pertinent documents. It has in contemplation the printing of a collection of the classic projects for international organization; another of the prize decisions of the belligerent countries during the present war, and another of American diplomatic corre-

spondence respecting the emancipation of the Latin-American countries, 1810-1830, to be edited by Professor William R. Manning of the University of Texas. The diplomatic correspondence between the United States and belligerent governments relating to neutral rights and commerce, published in two special supplements to the *American Journal of International Law*, for July, 1915, and October, 1916, has been largely distributed by the Endowment in a special edition of two volumes, indexed.

Muller, Feith, and Fruin's *Handleiding voor het Ordenen en Beschrijven van Archieven*, published in 1908, is the standard work upon its subject (the classifying and describing of archives), and has been translated into German, French, and Italian. The original edition being now out of print, Messrs. S. Muller Fz. and R. Fruin, the two surviving authors, are preparing a new one, with aid from the official Dutch Society of Archivists.

Mr. J. W. Jeudwine has, in *Manufacture of Historical Material* (Williams and Norgate), given expression to many useful ideas, though the book is marred by some inaccuracies.

The eighth course of James Schouler Lectures on History and Political Science was delivered at the Johns Hopkins University, in March, by Dr. David J. Hill, who chose as his general subject International Readjustments. The substance of the lectures will appear in the *Century Magazine* throughout the summer and, in October, will be published as a book.

The *Tsing Hua Journal*, published by the faculty and students of Tsing Hua College in Peking, prints in a special issue for March, 1917 (pp. 49), a series of six lectures on the Representative Idea in History, delivered at the college during the year 1916 by Professor R. M. McElroy of Princeton, N. J.

Messrs. Putnam are soon to publish *France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1915: an Historical Survey of the Principles underlying the Entente Cordiale*, by Professor Charles Cestre, of the University of Bordeaux. The volume has been translated by Professor Leslie M. Turner of the University of California.

The January number of the *Military Historian and Economist* contains two historical articles, a brief one by Professor Julius von Pflugk-Harttung on Front and Rear of the Battle Line at Waterloo; the other by Dr. Justin H. Smith on Our Preparation for the War of 1846-1848. The April number also contains two historical articles, one on the Discipline in an English Army of the Fifteenth Century (that of Henry V.), by Mr. R. A. Newhall, and the valuable paper on England and Neutral Trade which Professor William E. Lingelbach read before the American Historical Association last December.

For historians the greatest interest possessed by Sir Thomas Holdich's *Political Frontiers and Boundary Making* (Macmillan and Company) will be found in the author's descriptions of the Russo-Persian and Russo-Afghan frontiers, but the entire study of demarcation lines is suggestive.

The Oxford University Press publishes a volume of selections from Sir Walter Raleigh's *Historie of the World*, and from his letters, edited with introduction and notes by Mr. G. E. Hadow (pp. 212). The same press also announces a volume on *The Beginnings of Overseas Enterprise*, by Sir Charles P. Lucas, with an appendix containing the first charter to the Merchant Adventurers.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-fifth annual meeting in the city of New York April 22 and 23. Among the papers read at the meeting were the following: Napoleon and the Jews, by Dr. Abraham A. Neuman; Colonel David S. Franks, by Leon Hühner; Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, by Max J. Kohler; the Aims and Tasks of the Science of Jewish History, by Professor Alexander Marx; and Cotton Mather and the Jews, and "Six French Men-of-War full of Jews at Louisburgh", two papers, by Lee M. Friedman.

The April number of the *Journal of Negro History* contains among its articles one by Mr. John M. Mecklin on "The Development of the Slave Status in American Democracy", pt. I.; G. D. Huston's "John Woolman's Efforts in Behalf of Freedom"; and a study of the life and character of Francis Williams, a Jamaica negro, by T. H. MacDermot, editor of the *Jamaica Times*. The Document section consists of extracts from travellers' accounts of slavery conditions in various parts of the United States between 1679 and 1860. Among the Notes is an interesting one on negro soldiers in the American Revolution.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Davillé, *Le Retour à la Tradition Française en Histoire* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, May).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

I. Sandaljian has written a *Histoire Documentaire de l'Arménie des Âges du Paganisme (1410 av.—305 apr. J. C.) précédée de Questions Ethnographiques, Linguistiques, et Archéologiques et suivie de la Mythologie Ourarto-Arménienne* (Rome, Imp. du Sénat, 1917, pp. xl, 800).

E. Cavaignac, who has already published the second and third volumes of an *Histoire de l'Antiquité*, has now issued the first part of the first volume, entitled *Javan, l'Orient et les Grecs jusque vers 1150 avant J. C.* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917). The second part of the volume will contain historiographic discussion and polemic relating to the matter set forth in the first part.

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An important new contribution to the early history of Rome is *Les Origines de Rome* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917), by A. Piganiol, which is published as the 110th number of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes*.

The first part of the *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. xxvi, 735) prepared by R. Cagnat and V. Chapot deals with monuments and sculpture.

The period of the Punic Wars is the subject of the third volume of *Storia dei Romani* (Turin, Bocca, 1917, pp. xvi, 432, vii, 728) by G. De Sanctis.

Professor Clarence E. Boyd, of Emory College, is the author of a treatise on *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* published by the Chicago University Press.

E. S. Bouchier, the author of monographs on the Roman provinces of Spain and Syria, has completed a volume on Sardinia, entitled *Sardinia in Ancient Times* (Oxford, Blackwell), which not only studies the relations of the island to Rome but also gives careful attention to earlier phases of its history and to its archaeology.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Jastrow, *The Summerian View of Beginnings* (Revue Archéologique, November); E. Cuq, *Les Nouveaux Fragments du Code de Hammourabi* (Revue d'Assyriologie, XIII. 3); A. Moret, *Déclaration d'un Domaine Royal et Transformation en Ville Neuve sous Pepi II.* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, July, 1916); A. Moret, *L'Administration Locale sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (*ibid.*, September); L. Franchet, *Essai de Chronologie Crétoise* (Revue Archéologique, September); Dr. Capitan, *Les Origines de la Civilisation en Europe: les Précurseurs Magdaléniens et le Berceau Égéen* (Journal des Savants, March).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The section for the years 1201 to 1510 of the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique* (vol. III., pt. I., Paris, 1916, pp. 176) has been published by the Commission on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.

Lists of the masters general of the Dominican Order, of the secretaries of the Congregation of the Index, and of various other leading officers of the order, and the list of the general chapters for the seven centuries from 1216 to 1916, have been critically compiled by I. Taurisano in *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, Manuzio, 1916, pp. xii, 128).

Professor N. Jorga of the University of Bucharest has completed his *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'Histoire des Croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (vols. IV. and V., Bucharest, 1915, pp. vi, 378, 349) with two volumes for the years from 1453 to 1500.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. L. Poole, *Papal Chronology in the Eleventh Century* (English Historical Review, April); G. B. Borino, *L'Elezione e la Deposizione di Gregorio VI.* [concl.] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 3); William Miller, *Salonika* (English Historical Review, April); Alice Gardner, *Some Episodes in the History of Medieval Salonika* (History, April); L. Madelin, *La Syrie Franque* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15); P. Fournier, *La Prohibition par le II<sup>e</sup> Concile de Latran d'Armes jugées trop Meurtrières, 1139* (Revue Archéologique, September); Paul Hamelius, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Quarterly Review, April); W. R. Scott, *The Mystery of the Medieval Draper* (Economic Journal, December).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Many interesting ideas are propounded by Guglielmo Ferrero in *Le Génie Latin et le Monde Moderne* (Paris, Grasset, 1917), and by Professor P. Villari in *L'Italia e la Civiltà* (Milan, Hoepli, 1916, pp. xxxiii, 451).

Much information is recast in an interesting way in *Le Danube: Aperçu Historique, Économique, et Politique* (Paris, Tenin, 1917), by C. I. Baicoianu.

*A Great Emperor: Charles V., 1519-1558*, by Christopher Hare (Stanley Paul), despite some minor inaccuracies, is a skillful biography, both readable and fair-minded.

A German presentation of *England und die Napoleonische Welt-politik, 1800-1803* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1916, pp. xviii, 231) by Otto Brandt is an addition to the discussion of the treaty of Amiens and its rupture.

The international aspects of the revolutionary movements of 1830 are set forth in *La Révolution de Juillet 1830 et l'Europe* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1917), by Vicomte de Guichen.

French discussions of the topic of perennial interest to them, the Rhine frontier, have been unusually numerous during the war. In addition to items mentioned in earlier numbers there are the more recent publications of F. de Grailly, *La Vérité Territoriale et la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 384); of Henri Stein, *Notre Frontière de l'Est: la France et l'Empire à travers l'Histoire et les Origines du Pan-Germanisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1917); of V. S. Ruelens-Marlier, *Le Rhin Libre* (Paris, Attinger, 1917); of J. Duhem, *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine, 1871-1914* (Paris, Alcan, 1917); of Professor C. Pfister, *Lectures Alsaciennes, Géographie, Histoire, Biographies* (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. 135); and of E. Driault, *Les Traditions Politiques de la France et les Conditions de la Paix* (Paris, Alcan, 1916).



Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Preserved Smith, *English Opinion of Luther* (Harvard Theological Review, April); J. H. Pollen, S. J., *The Council of Trent and Attendance at Anglican Service* (Dublin Review, April); H. Delbrück, *L'Exemple de Napoléon* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); W. R. Scott, *Mercantile Shipping in the Napoleonic Wars: with some Statistics of Mercantile Shipping Losses a Hundred Years Ago* (Scottish Historical Review, April, 1917); Joseph Reinach, *The Origins of the Franco-German War* (Quarterly Review, April); *Un Projet d'Alliance Franco-Russe en 1871* [from the Thiers papers] (Revue de Paris, February 1); Rev. Alfred Fawkes, *The Pontificate of Pius X.* (Quarterly Review, April); XXX, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Autriche* (Revue de Paris, February 15); A. Gauvain, *Encerclement et Hégémonie* (*ibid.*, April 1); P. Louis, *Les Courants de la Social-Démocratie* (Mercure de France, February 16); D. Bellet, *L'Histoire du Socialisme en Italie et les Influences Germaniques* (Revue d'Économie Politique, September); G. Melegari, *I Rapporti tra la Russia e la Germania nel Passato e nell' Avenire* (Nuova Antologia, February 16); E. Catellani, *L'Alleanza Russo-Giapponese* (*ibid.*, January 1).

#### THE GREAT WAR

Under the title *War Message and the Facts behind It*, the official Committee on Public Information has issued as a pamphlet the message of the President delivered before Congress on April 2, 1917, with annotations prepared by competent historical scholars, giving the leading facts on which the rupture with Germany was developed, and the issues in international law, and contrasting the spirit of Prussianism and Americanism.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March contains (pp. 200-206) a list of recent accessions relating to the European war.

Volume IV. of *Books on the Great War*, an annotated bibliography compiled by F. W. T. Lange and R. A. Peddie, has recently been published (London, Grafton, pp. viii, 199). It extends through April, 1916, and has been republished in White Plains, N. Y., by the H. W. Wilson Company.

Professor O. P. Chitwood of West Virginia University has published through Messrs. Crowell *The Immediate Causes of the Great War*, a brief survey of the war from the beginning to the entrance of Rumania.

The second volume of *Proceedings* of the Grotius Society (English), papers read before the society in 1916, includes fourteen papers, some of them of unusual merit, on problems of international law raised by the present war.

Useful or interesting additions to the descriptions of conditions antecedent to the war are furnished by A. Gauvain in *L'Europe avant*

*la Guerre* (Paris, Colin, 1917); by F. Chapsal and several other lecturers in *Intérêts Économiques et Rapports Internationaux à la Veille de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. 269), of special interest as a series of public lectures delivered a few weeks before the war began; by E. Laskine in *L'Internationale et le Pangermanisme* (Paris, Floury, 1916, pp. ix, 471); by S. Ghelli in *Austria Nemica: i Ricotti degli Absburgo, gli Ultimi Anni della Triplice, l'Adriatico e l'Albania* (Milan, Bonfiglio, 1916, pp. xxxii, 352); by the Baroness von Suttner in *Der Kampf um die Vermeidung des Weltkriegs* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1917, 2 vols., pp. xx, 628, xvi, 630), a compilation from her comments on passing events in her journals from 1891 to 1900 and from 1907 to 1914; by L. Maurice in *La Politique Marocaine de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. ii, 207), which has run through several editions; and by G. Dejean in *Casque à Pointe et Bonnet Rouge* (Lausanne, Martinet, 1916).

Because of the author's recent period of residence in an American university, as well as on account of the intrinsic merits of the book, American readers will be interested in the translated work of Professor Léon van der Essen, of the University of Louvain, entitled *The Invasion and the War in Belgium, with a Sketch of the Diplomatic Negotiations preceding the Conflict* (London, Fisher Unwin).

The issue for 1916 of the international annual entitled *Grotius* (the Hague, Nijhoff) contains the year's reports of the cases involving Dutch ships and cargoes in the prize courts of Germany, France, and England. Especially interesting is the partial but express repudiation of international law by the German prize courts. Dr. W. J. M. van Eysinga, professor of law in the University of Leiden, reviews (in French) the events in international law from September 1, 1915, to January 15, 1917. There are also essays (in English) by Dr. G. Vissering, president of the Netherlands Bank, on the Netherlands Bank and the War and on the Netherlands East Indies and the Gold Exchange Standard.

Among the new contributions to the history of the international rupture in July, 1914, are *Histoire de Douze Jours, 23 Juillet-3 Août 1914: Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1917) by Joseph Reinach; *Devant l'Histoire, Causes Connues et Ignorées de la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), by Paul Giraud; the anonymous *Le Mensonge du 3 Août 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1917); *La Guerre qui Venait* (Paris, Boivin, 1917, pp. xvi, 304), by Albert Milhaud; and *La Question Luxembourgeoise: la France et le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Paris, Tenin, 1917, pp. 107), by J. Dontenville.

Future historians of the war will be glad to have as part of their working equipment Comte Georges de Morant's *La Noblesse Française au Champ d'Honneur, 1914, 1915, 1916, avec la Liste Alphabétique des*

*Morts au Champ d'Honneur, Blessés, Disparus, Cités à l'Ordre du Jour, Promus, Nommés dans la Légion d'Honneur, la Médaille Militaire, la Croix de Guerre* (Paris, Le Nobiliaire, 1916, pp. xliv, 275).

J. W. Headlam has published in a small pamphlet, *The Peace Terms of the Allies* (London, Richard Clay), the reply of the Allies to the American note, the German note to neutrals, and the Belgian reply.

A fifth volume has been published of *Documents relatifs à la Guerre, 1914-1916: Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission instituée en vue de Constater les Crimes commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens* (Paris, Hachette, 1917). R. Marchand has furnished a French version of A. S. Rezanoff's *Les Atrocités Allemandes du Côté Russe* (Petrograd, 1916, pp. 232).

Three members of the French Academy are among the recent contributors to the literature of the war. René Bazin has written *La Campagne Française et la Guerre* (Paris, Eggimann, 1916); Maurice Donnay, *Pendant qu'ils sont à Noyon* (Paris, Tallandier, 1917); and Pierre Loti, *Quelques Aspects du Vertige Mondial* (Paris, Flammarion, 1917). With these may be mentioned *La France et le Monde* (Paris, Plon, 1917) by Hugues Le Roux, and *Dans la Tourmente, Avril-Juillet, 1915* (Paris, Crès, 1916, pp. xiii, 129) by Rémy de Gourmont.

Further narratives of British participation in the war will be found in *Chez nos Alliés Britanniques: Notes et Souvenirs d'un Interprète* (Paris, Boivin, 1917, pp. xvi, 350), by F. Laurent; in *Through French Eyes, Britain's Effort* (London, Constable, 1916, pp. viii, 256), by H. D. Davray; and in *Australia in Arms: a Narrative of the Australasian Imperial Force and their Achievement at Anzac* (London, Unwin, 1916, pp. 328), by P. T. E. Schuler, war correspondent of the *Melbourne Age*.

Miss Katharine Babbitt has translated the *Campaign Diary of a French Officer*, by Sous-Lieutenant René Nicolas of the French infantry, which consists chiefly of jottings made in the trenches between February and May, 1915.

Mrs. C. Curtis has translated the narrative of Marcel Berger under the title *The Ordeal by Fire, by a Sergeant in the French Army* (New York, Putnam, 1917, pp. vii, 532). Twenty essays from the trenches, written by Donald Hankey, are collected under the title *A Student in Arms* (New York, Dutton, 1917, pp. 290). The author after army schooling at Sandhurst went late to Oxford and so could combine the points of view of the army officer and the scholar. An insert reveals that the author fell in action on the western front last October.

The Norwegian war correspondent, Froeis Froeislund, is the author of *Fra Paris og Frankriges Front under Krigen* (Christiania, Cammermeyer, 1916) recording observations in 1914. *Aerens Land* (Copenhagen, Pio, 1916) is the second war book of the Danish correspondent

Andreas Winding, whose narrative is more critical than the title, *Land of Honor*, might indicate. Arnould Galopin describes conditions mainly on the English front in *Sur la Ligne de Feu: Carnet de Campagne d'un Correspondant de Guerre* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917). *Les Flandres en Khaki: Notes de Campagnes d'un Interprète Français à l'Armée Britannique* (Paris, L'Édition Française Illustrée, 1917) is the narrative of Victor Breyer.

*Les Spécialistes de la Victoire, Quand on se Bat* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. iv, 264) by François de Tessan, is interesting for its realistic descriptions of the various methods of combat employed. The pseudonymous Jean des Vignes Rouges portrays *L'Ame des Chefs, Récits de Guerre et Méditations* (Paris, Perrin, 1917). Charles Nordmann has described the artillery fighting with enthusiasm for its technique in *À Coups de Canon* (*ibid.*, pp. v, 254) for which General Nivelle wrote a preface which was suppressed by the censor in the earlier editions. The activities of the cavalry arm are similarly described by Capitaine Langevin in *Cavaliers de France, 1914: Étapes et Combats* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1917). Another book on the famous brigade of marines is *La Brigade des Jean le Gouin* (Paris, Perrin, 1917) by Georges Le Bail; and still another is *Un Parisien sur l'Yser: le Fusilier Marin Luc Platt, d'après son Journal et sa Correspondance* (Paris, Larousse, 1917). These half-dozen volumes include some of the most vivid and at the same time some of the most informing narratives of war experiences.

Mr. H. Perry Robinson's *The Turning Point: the Battle of the Somme* (Heinemann) is a critical weighing of the advantages gained by this battle.

Mr. Frederick Palmer has followed his early writings on the war by *With the New Army of the Somme: my Second Year of the War* (Dodd, Mead, and Company), a stirring account of the earlier features of the Allies' drive against the German lines.

In *With the British on the Somme*, by W. Beach Thomas (Methuen), the author gives a vivid idea of modern warfare, which is apparently his major purpose, the narrative being a secondary interest.

Either the importance of the campaigns described or the vividness of the narrative mark the following volumes of memoirs as of more than ordinary interest: J. Dieterlen, *Le Bois le Prêtre, Octobre 1914-Avril 1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1917); A. Marix, *Les Rêveries d'un Poilu vivant depuis Vingt Mois sur le Front et aux Avant-Postes de Woëvre et de Lorraine* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 130); Lieutenant Péricard, *Face à Face: Souvenirs et Impressions d'un Soldat de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. 356), which has a preface by M. Barrès of the French Academy and relates to the campaign in the Argonne; C. Tardieu, *Sous la Pluie de Fer: Impressions d'un Marsouin, les Marquises, 1914,*

*Massiges*, 1915 (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1917); and Lieutenant-Colonel Bourguet, *L'Aube Sanglante, de la Boisselle, Octobre, 1914, à Tahure, Septembre, 1915* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) which is composed of letters revealing the burdens and experiences of a regimental commander.

The third of Mr. Stanley Washburn's volumes on the Russian front, *The Russian Offensive* (Constable), covers the period from June 5 to September 1, 1916.

Narratives of prison experiences in Germany will be found in *L'Évasion: Récit de Deux Prisonniers Français évadés du Camp d'Hammelmelbourg* (Berger-Levrault, 1917) by D. Baud-Bovy; in *Souvenirs d'un Otage, de Hirson à Rastatt* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916, pp. 192) by G. Desson; and in *Prisonniers en Allemagne* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917) by E. Zavie.

Édouard Herriot has written the preface for the collected volume, *La France en Macédoine: Études publiés par les Officiers, Sous-Officiers, et Soldats de l'Armée d'Orient dans la Revue Franco-Macédoine, Avril-Mai-Juin 1916* (Paris, Crès, 1917).

Italian policies and achievements in the war are set forth by Sidney Low in *Italy and the War* (London, Longmans, 1916, pp. 316); by G. Faure in *De l'Autre Côté des Alpes: sur le Front Italien* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. iv, 150); by L. Barzini in *La Guerra d'Italia, Gennaio-Giugno, 1916: sui Monti, nel Cielo e nel Mare* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. 354); by B. Astori in *Gorizia nella Vita, nella Storia, nella sua Italianità* (*ibid.*, pp. 158); and by A. Benedetti in *La Conquista di Gorizia* (Florence, Bemporad, 1916, pp. 141).

*The Revolt in Arabia* (New York, Putnam, 1917, pp. vii, 50) is a translation of some brief articles contributed to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* by the eminent student of Mohammedanism, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje of the University of Leiden. The articles are merely commentary on the earliest news despatches and furnish neither recent information nor fully authenticated narrative.

A phase of the war somewhat neglected in popular writing is described in *A Doctor's Diary in Damaraland* by H. F. B. Walker (London, Arnold). Dr. Walker was in charge of a field ambulance in the recent campaign in Southwest Africa.

A general account of the naval operations of the war will be found in *Deux Années de Guerre Navale* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917, pp. x, 272), by René La Bruyère.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *The Archives of the War* (Quarterly Review, April); W. T. Laprade, *The War and the Historians of Tomorrow* (Sewanee Review, April); R. Lote, *Des Causes Économiques et Intellectuelles: Réflexions sur la Guerre* (Mercure de

France, May 1); J. Reinach, *A Propos de Cartes Allemandes* (Revue de Paris, April 1); Général Malletterre, *Les Étapes de la Victoire: où Nous en Sommes* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 21); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Les Étapes de la Victoire: la Maîtrise des Mers* (*ibid.*, March 31); *id.*, *La Guerre des Côtes et les Deux Blocus* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); G. Hanotaux, *La Bataille des Ardennes, 21-25 Août, 1914* (*ibid.*, February 15); G. Deschamps, *Les Alpains à Saint-Dié, 25-29 Août, 1914* (*ibid.*, March 15); E. Griselle, *Les Libérateurs de la Pologne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 13); H. Bidou, *L'Offensive de Broussiloff, Juin-Septembre, 1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); C. Stiénon, *L'Effondrement Colonial de l'Allemagne: la Conquête Anglo-Belge de l'Afrique Orientale Allemande* (*ibid.*, April 1); A. Gauvain, *Les Offres de la Paix* (Revue de Paris, February 1).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In addition to books of births, marriages, and deaths, the Scottish Record Society has issued during the past year a *Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House, 1166-1536*, edited by the late Lieut. C. C. Harvey and Mr. John M'Leod, of which a continuation will be published during the present year. The society also expects to issue before long the *Protocol Book of Thomas Johnstoun, 1528-1578*, relating chiefly to lands in the county of Linlithgow, and to be edited by Mr. James Russell, town clerk of Linlithgow, and Mr. James Beveridge, rector of the Academy of Linlithgow. The Protocol Book of Robert Rollok, 1541-1553, and that of Sir John Christison, 1518-1582, will be undertaken later.

*The Archaeological Survey of Wales: an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, V., County of Carmarthen*, has been issued by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire.

*Early English Adventurers in the East*, by Arnold Wright (Melrose), has to do primarily with both the work and the personality of certain seventeenth-century representatives of the East India Company.

Harvard University announces for early publication *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution* by Professor E. F. Gay.

A new edition of Southey's *Life of Nelson*, with taking illustrations, is issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company. An introduction by Mr. Henry Newbolt argues, against Southey, for the exoneration of Nelson in the matter of the surrender of the castles at Naples and the execution of Prince Caracciolo. In the latter case, Admiral Mahan's grave expression of "instinctive aversion" from Nelson's conduct is ascribed to his being a republican, who "cannot forgive Nelson his success on behalf of a king against republican rebels"! The introduction also gives a useful summary of the report on Nelson's tactics at Trafalgar

made in 1913 by a committee appointed for the purpose by the Admiralty.

An interesting contrast between English economic conditions to-day and those prevalent one hundred years ago is presented in H. R. Hodges's *Economic Conditions, 1815-1914* (Bell).

*England: its Political Organisation and Development and the War against Germany*, by Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, translated by Helene S. White (Boston, Ritter and Company), despite its faults of temper and bias, presents matter both informing and suggestive which is well worth reading.

Accounts of early events of the British administration in Egypt, the author's mission to Russian Central Asia, and irrigation work in India, form a portion of the subject-matter of *Life and Letters of Sir Colin C. Scott-Moncrieff, 1836-1916*, edited by Miss Mary A. Hollings (John Murray).

*Lord Kitchener: his Work and his Prestige*, by Henry D. Davray, with a prefatory letter by M. Paul Cambon (Fisher Unwin), summarizes Kitchener's work before the war very briefly, but recounts in great detail his work in organizing the British army of the present war. *With Kitchener in Cairo* by Sydney A. Moseley (Cassell) presents a critical study of Kitchener's work in Egypt.

*In Ireland in the Last Fifty Years (1866-1916)*, by Ernest Barker (Clarendon Press), the author discusses the Irish church, education, and agrarian and government questions.

Professor Ernest Scott of the University of Melbourne has in *A Short History of Australia* (Oxford University Press) produced a well-written book, based on adequate knowledge and condensed with excellent judgment.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls*, Henry III., vol. I., 1226-1240.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. B. Firth, *Benefit of Clergy in the Time of Edward IV.* (English Historical Review, April); H. J. Laski, *The Early History of the Corporation in England* (Harvard Law Review, April); A. V. Dicey, *Thoughts on the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland under the Constitution of 1690* (Scottish Historical Review, April); E. R. Turner, *The Cabinet in the Eighteenth Century* (English Historical Review, April); E. E. Minton, *The Case of Admiral Byng, or Judgment by Court Martial* (Manchester Quarterly, January); Sir J. P. Middleton, *Cyprus under British Rule* (Quarterly Review, April).

#### FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, March, May); C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France: Fin du Moyen Age, 1328-1498* (*ibid.*, May).



The second volume of the *Manuel de Numismatique Française* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. x, 468) is by A. Dieudonné, and deals with the period from Hugh Capet to the Revolution. The first volume, covering the earlier period, was published in 1912 by A. Blanchet.

*Une Femme Poète du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Anne de Graville, sa Famille, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, sa Postérité* (Paris, Picard, 1917, pp. x, 328), by Maxime de Montmorand, is a very attractive volume of literary history which has its value to the historian in portraying the noble poetess of the age of Louis XII. and Francis I. as a typical woman of the French Renaissance.

Abbé A. Anthiaume has issued two volumes on *Cartes Marines, Constructions Navales, Voyages de Découvertes chez les Normands, 1500-1650* (Paris, E. Dumond, 1916, pp. xiv, 566, 597).

A new series of regional studies of France, one of the manifestations of the present revival of interest in the old provincialism of the country, is initiated by L. Gallouédec with *La Bretagne* (Paris, Hachette, 1917). Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour has issued a second series of *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Pays qui forment aujourd'hui le Département de l'Oise* (Paris, Champion, 1917).

Interesting studies in the recent colonial administration of France in western Africa are *Une Conquête Morale: l'Enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris, Colin, 1917, pp. xvi, 356) by Georges Hardy, and *La Pacification de la Côte d'Ivoire, 1908-1915: Méthodes et Résultats* (Paris, Larose, 1917), by G. Angoulvant. The French interests in Syria are the subject of *La Syrie et la France* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xxviii, 144) by Dr. C. and Paul Roederer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Jullian, *Aix-en-Provence dans l'Antiquité* (Journal des Savants, January, February); F. Aubert, *Les Sources de la Procédure au Parlement au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July, 1916); Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour, *Le Siège de Péronne par les Impériaux en 1536* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 31); L. Romier, *Les Protestants Français à la Veille des Guerres Civiles*, II. [concl.] (Revue Historique, March); E. Saulnier, *Le Siège d'Orléans au Début de 1589* (*ibid.*, May); J. Adher, *L'Assistance Publique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: l'Enquête de 1775 dans le Diocèse Civil de Toulouse* (La Révolution Française, March); G. Pariset, *Le Lieutenant Napoléon Bonaparte Étudiant à Strasbourg* (Revue Historique, May); G. Rouanet, *Robespierre et le Journal "L'Union"* (Annales Révolutionnaires, March); A. Mathiez, *Les Subsistances pendant la Révolution*, I. *De la Réglementation à la Liberté* (*ibid.*); P. Mautouchet, *La Population Parisienne et la Crise de l'Alimentation sous la Terreur* (Révolution Française, March); A. Chuquet, *Maubeuge en 1793* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 31); A. Mathiez, *La Mobilisation Générale en l'An II*. (Revue de Paris, April 1); G. Weill, *Un Groupe de Philanthropes Français* (Revue

des Études Napoléoniennes, March); E. Driault, *Les Historiens de Napoléon: M. Frédéric Masson, "Napoléon et sa Famille"* (ibid.); A. Grouard, *Les Derniers Historiens de 1815 à propos des "Énigmes de Waterloo"* de M. E. Lenient (ibid.); F. Masson, *L'Énigme de Sainte-Hélène* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); A. Debidour, *Le Régime du Concordat et les Origines de la Séparation de l'Église et de l'État* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); Saint-Mathurin, *Napoléon III. et l'Allemagne Française* (ibid.).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January).

G. Ialla, *Storia della Riforma in Piemonte fino alla Morte di Ematarini brothers between 1392 and 1408 for Uomini e Fatti dell' Ultimo Trecento e del Primo Quattrocento* (Venice, R. Deputazione di Storia Veneta, 1916, pp. 105).

G. Ialla, *Storia della Riforma in Piemonte fino alla Morte di Emanuele Filiberto, 1517-1580* (Florence, Claudiana, 1915) is a chapter from the tragic history of the Waldenses.

N. Giorgetti has published a prolix compendium on *Le Armi Toscane e le Occupazioni Straniere in Toscana, 1537-1860* (Città di Castello, Unione Arti Grafiche, 1916, 3 vols., pp. 629, 742, 801).

Some recent volumes of interest on the Risorgimento are *La Filosofia Politica di Giuseppe Mazzini* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1916, pp. 366), by A. Levi; *Il Dittatore di Modena: Biagio Nardi e il suo Nepote Anacarsi* (Rome, Albrighi, 1916, pp. cli, 344), by G. Sforza; *Goffredo Mameli* (Milan, 1916, pp. xii, 178), by B. Maineri; *Il Decennio di Occupazione Austriaca in Ancona, 1849-1859* (Ancona, Tip. del Commercio, 1916, pp. 396), by E. Costantini; *Marsala nell' Epopea Garibaldina* (Marsala, Soc. Industr. Tipogr., 1916, pp. xiv, 396), by A. Figlioli; *I Comitati Segreti della Venezia prima e durante la Campagna del 1866* (Venice, Ferrari, 1916, pp. 75), by G. Solitro; and *Le Guardie Nazionali Valtellinesi alla Difesa dello Stelvio nel 1866* (Milan, Cogliati, 1916, pp. 416), by V. Adami.

A substantial addition to our knowledge of the early history of the Christian Church in the Spanish Peninsula is made by Dr. E. L. Smit in his *De Oud-Christelijke Monumenten van Spanje* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916).

R. Ramírez de Arellano has brought out the first volume of a *Historia de Córdoba* (Ciudad Real, 1915).

J. Gómez Centurión has contributed to the critical study of the career of St. Theresa a volume of *Relaciones Biográficas Inéditas de Santa Teresa de Jesús, con Autógrafos de Autenticidad en Documentacion indubitada* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1916, pp. 354).

An important contribution to the history of Spanish commerce is the *Historia del Consulado y Casa de Contratación de Bilbao y del Comercio de la Villa* (vol. II., 1700-1830, Bilbao, Astuy, 1916), by T. Guiard y Larrauri.

A small volume of essays on *Las Mujeres de Fernando VII.* (Madrid, Tip. Artística, 1916, pp. 109) is by the Marquis de Villa-Urrutia.

*L'Espagne en Face du Conflit Européen* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917) is a translation from the Spanish of A. Alcalá Galiano.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *Il Comune di Velletri nel Medio Evo, Sec. XI.-XIV.* [concl.] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 3); J. Joergensen, *Les Premières Années de Sainte-Catherine de Sienne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); P. Molmenti, *Le Relazioni tra Patrizi Veneziani e Diplomatici Stranieri* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Le Prince de Bénévent [Talleyrand]* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 7); Enrico Corradini, *Italy from Adowa to the Great War* (Nineteenth Century and After, May); P. Paris, *Emporion, I.* (Revue Archéologique, November); P. Duran Lladó, *Vida de Don Domingo Yriarte* [ed. A. Aguirre] (Revue Hispanique, April); *Libelos del Tiempo de Napoleón: Colección formada por Santiago Alvarez Gamero* (ibid.).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Professors Heinrich Brunner and Bernhard von Simson and Dr. Theodor Hirschfeld of the Central-Direction of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* have recently died. At the meeting in January Professor Hintze was chosen to replace Professor Brunner, and Professor Seckel was placed in charge of the section of *Leges* in place of Professor Brunner. The only new publication reported was the first volume of the letters of St. Boniface and of St. Lull in the *Scriptores ad Usum Scholarum*. Serious discussion having arisen over the proposed edition of the *Lex Salica*, a special committee was appointed to conduct an exhaustive investigation of the questions involved before proceeding further with the publication. Professor Bretholz of Brunn was selected to continue the work of the late Professor Uhlig as editor of the *Annales Austriacenses*.

The Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy has decided to undertake the publication of a collection of the historical sources for the nineteenth century down to the beginning of the present war. The scheme contemplates several hundred volumes and will include not merely the political history but also the history of the several states, the growth of nationality, and the history of ideas. The direction of this new *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* has been entrusted to a special subcommittee.

J. W. Headlam is the author of *The German Chancellor and the Outbreak of the War* (T. Fisher Unwin).

*Germanism from Within* (New York, Dutton, 1916, pp. x, 363) is a study of German conditions and ideas before the war by A. D. McLaren. Professor J. P. Bang of Copenhagen has collected war-time expressions by leading Germans in *Hurrah and Hallelujah: the Teaching of Germany's Poets, Prophets, Professors, and Preachers* (New York, Doran, 1917, pp. xi, 234), which is translated by Jessie Brückner.

*Inside the German Empire in the Third Year of the War* (New York, Century Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 366) by H. B. Swope, an American newspaper correspondent, and *L'Allemagne en Détresse d'après ses propres Documents: les Hommes, l'Approvisionnement, l'Argent* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916), by Gaston Ceriberr, are interesting attempts to ascertain and explain the conditions in Germany in recent months.

*Der Freistadt der III. Bünde und die Frage des Veltlins: Korrespondenzen und Aktenstücke aus den Jahren 1796 und 1797* (vol. I, 1796, Basel, Basler Buchhandlung, 1916, pp. cccxxviii, 339), edited by Alfred Rufer with an excellent introduction, fills a lacuna in the history of French relations with the Swiss cantons.

Lucien Cramer has presented a study of Swiss neutrality in *Notre Neutralité Autrefois et Aujourd'hui* (Geneva, Sonor, 1917, pp. 115). *L'Indépendance Intellectuelle de la Suisse* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1917, pp. 109) contains six addresses by Professors P. Seippel, F. de Quervain, E. Zürcher, and L. Ragaz, which discuss chiefly the matter of German influence. Professor Max Turmann of Fribourg has written *La Suisse pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), which contains an account of the Swiss aid to prisoners and other victims of the war, a discussion of the economic problems of neutrality, and various notes and observations. Colonel de Loys has written a preface for a collection of remarkable photographs showing *L'Occupation des Frontières Suisses, 1914-1915: un Hiver sous les Armes, 1914-1915* (Paris, Crès, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Fliche, *Les Théories Germaniques de la Souveraineté à la Fin du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Revue Historique, May); W. H. Friedel, *Le Rôle Politique des Universités Allemandes* (Mercure de France, April 1); E. Haumant, *Un Problème Ethnographique: la Slavisation de la Dalmatie* (Revue Historique, March).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A general guide to the Dutch archives, with brief descriptions of the contents of each, is under preparation by the official Dutch Society of Archivists.

A Netherland Museum, to illustrate the history and arts of the Netherlands and their colonies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been established in the buildings of All Saints' Church, 292 Henry Street, New York City.

Of the *Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland*, Martinus Nijhoff (the Hague) has brought out the first sheets of the maps for 1300 and for the Burgundian period.

Philip II. in 1558 ordered Jacob van Deventer, an excellent map-maker of his time, to make minutely detailed maps of all the towns and villages of the Netherlands. Under the title *Nederlandsche Steden in de 16<sup>e</sup> Eeuw, Platte Gronden van Jacob van Deventer*, Martinus Nijhoff is publishing facsimiles of those relating to the northern Netherlands. The plates will reproduce 111 of the original drawings, the 72 which are now in the Netherlands being published now, the 39 which are at Brussels and Madrid after the war.

The same house has published the first volume of *Notulen van Zeeland*, edited by Dr. K. Heeringa—journals of the governor and council, 1576–1578, and of the States of Zeeland, 1577–1578, important for the history of the war for independence.

*Les Déportations Belges à la Lumière des Documents Allemands* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 454) is a compilation by F. Passelecq, a Belgian officer at Havre. Maurice des Ombiaux has added another chapter to his chronicle of Belgium's misfortunes in *Un Royaume en Exil: la Belgique du Dehors* (*ibid.*, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Rocquain, *Le Cardinal Mercier* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, April 21).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie, Publications des Années 1914 et 1915* (*Revue Historique*, March).

*Danmarks Kapervaesens, 1807–1814* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1916, pp. 206) is by K. Lausen.

Loparev's *Vizantijskiiia Jitiiia Sviatuich VIII<sup>e</sup>–IX<sup>e</sup> Viekov* (Petrograd, 1915, reviewed by L. Bréhier, *Journal des Savants*, January) is a study of the eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine lives of the saints.

The Russian Imperial Historical Society (the name will probably be changed soon to Russian Historical Society) will publish in the very near future the documents found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the French archives having to do with the relations of Germany and France during the year 1875 and showing the part played by Alexander II. in preventing war between the two countries. The material has been gathered and prepared by Senator Serge Mikhailovich Goriainov, former director of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has also written the introduction, which is both interesting and scholarly. The book when it shall appear will be a most valuable contribution.

*Russian Court Memoirs, 1914-1916*, by "A Russian", is of special interest at the present time. The volume contains "some account of court, social, and political life in Petrograd before and since the war" (Herbert Jenkins).

*When the Prussians came to Poland*, by the Marquise L. B. de G. Turczynowicz, is a vivid account of the experiences of the wife of a Polish noble during seven months of German occupation.

B. Bareilles is the author of a volume on *Les Turcs: ce que fut leur Empire, leurs Comédies Politiques* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and P. G. Chotch, of *Du Nationalisme Serbe: Étude d'Histoire Politique* (Dijon, Thorey, 1916, pp. 189), a doctoral dissertation. *Greece in her True Light: her Position in the World-wide War as expounded by El. K. Venizelos* (New York, 1916, pp. 288) is compiled, translated, and published by S. A. Xanthaky and N. G. Sakellarios.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Millet, *Les Zemstvos à la Veille de la Révolution* (Revue de Paris, April 1); Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Some Impressions of the Russian Revolution* (Contemporary Review, May); J. Bainville, *Comment est née la Révolution Russe* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); P. G. B. Familiari, *La Rómania e la sua Storia attraverso i Secoli* (Rivista Internazionale, January 31); S. P. Duggan, *Balkan Diplomacy, I.* (Political Science Quarterly, March); P. Popović, *Serbia and Greece* (New Europe, March 15).

#### THE FAR EAST

A bibliography of Chinese books is being compiled by Mr. Ernest Kletsch, of the Library of Congress. Titles of productions in practically all the principal European languages are included, and those in Chinese, Sanskrit, and other Asiatic languages that have been transliterated into one of the main European languages. While not restricted to historical titles, still the bibliography will be of value to historians interested in the Far Eastern field. Mr. Kletsch hopes to publish his bibliography in the near future. It is not a Library of Congress publication.

Martinus Nijhoff (the Hague) is bringing out a second edition of his very excellent *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* in four volumes, the first edition (1894-1905) having gone out of print. The present issue will be completed in 1917-1918.

A life of *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon, Saint François Xavier* (Paris, Perrin, 1917) is from the pen of A. Bellessort.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Chavannes, *Le Royaume de Wou et de Yue* (T'Oung Pao, May, 1916); P. S. Rivetta, *Un Grande Stratega Giapponese, Ōyama, 1842-1916* (Nuova Antologia, March 1).

## AMERICA

## GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been obliged, on account of circumstances growing out of the war, to postpone for the present the work on West Indian archives in the islands and in London which has been undertaken by Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College. It may be useful to mention that the following are the ten repositories which have acquired sets of the Institution's photographs, hitherto spoken of in these notes, of the despatches sent by the Spanish governors of New Orleans to the captain-general at Havana, 1766-1791: Harvard University Library, New York Public Library, Hispanic Society of America, Library of Congress, Howard Memorial Library, Newberry Library, University of Illinois Library, Missouri Historical Society, Wisconsin State Historical Society, and a private library.

The Library of Congress has recently received a group of letters written to W. H. Crawford; a body of manuscripts of Wilson Cary Nicholas, political and miscellaneous, 1763-1820; an additional body of Madison papers, 1789-1836, drafts and miscellaneous letters; archives of the New Jersey colonization society, 1852-1890; and additions to its series of transcripts from the archives of Seville, Paris, and London, the latter coming in part from the library of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Of the Pulitzer prizes awarded at the recent commencement of Columbia University the prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year on the history of the United States was awarded to Monsieur J. J. Jusserand, the French ambassador, for the book entitled *With Americans of Past and Present Days* (see p. 669, above); the prize of \$1000 for the best American biography teaching patriotic and unselfish service was bestowed on Mrs. Laura E. Richards and Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott for their biography of Julia Ward Howe.

The prize of five thousand francs founded by M. Angrand will be awarded in 1918 to the best book published, in any country, during the years 1913-1917, on the history, ethnology, archaeology, or linguistics of the native races of America before the arrival of Columbus. Authors desiring that their books should be considered should send ten copies of each to the secretary of the Bibliothèque Nationale before January 1, 1918.

Mr. Thomas F. Madigan of 507 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has compiled and publishes, for the use of autograph collectors and historical students, *A Biographical Index of American Public Men*, classified under the categories usual to collectors and alphabetically arranged.

Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for

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International Peace, is editing and expects to publish two volumes giving a full historical account of the action of the Supreme Court of the United States in suits between states, and between states and the United States. All the decisions of the court in such cases will be reproduced in this work, and there will be essays on the practice and procedure of the court in controversies of the kind.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at the meeting of October, 1916, contains an article by Mr. Otis G. Hammond on the Mason Title and its Relations to New Hampshire and Massachusetts, one by Mr. George A. Plimpton on the Horn Book and its Use in America, and one (of 122 pages) by Mr. Frank Cundall, secretary of the Jamaica Institute, on the Press and Printing of Jamaica prior to 1820; also the New Jersey installment of Mr. Brigham's bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820.

Victor Cambon's volume, *États-Unis—France* (Paris, Roger, 1917) is chiefly devoted to an account of the industrial development and condition of the United States as related to France.

In commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the original production of the first play by an American produced in America by professional players, Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have brought out a limited edition of *The Prince of Parthia*, by Thomas Godfrey, with an extended introduction, historical, biographical, and critical, by Professor Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina.

*A Treatise on Federal Impeachments*, by Dr. Alexander Simpson, jr. (Philadelphia, Law Association), will be useful to historical students by reason of an appendix, of nearly 150 pages, containing an abstract of the articles of impeachment in all the federal impeachments which have taken place in the United States and in the chief English cases.

Rev. Anders Bobjerg of Askov, Minn., is preparing, with aid from the American-Scandinavian Foundation, a history of the Danes in the United States.

The *Thirty-first Annual Report* (1909-1910) of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1916, pp. 1037) consists almost entirely of a treatise by Dr. Franz Boas, on Tsimshian Mythology. The Tsimshian dwell in the region of the Nass and Skeena rivers in British Columbia. The work comprises for its principal part a translated collection of Tsimshian myths and tales recorded during twelve years by a late member of the tribe. Other parts describe the social organization and religious ideas and practices of the people, and their mythology in relation to the phenomena of dissemination of myths in northwestern America. Appendixes embody myths of the Bellabella and of the Nootka.

The contents of the April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* include: Bishop Rosati and the See of New Orleans, by Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C. M.; lists of the hierarchy of the provinces of Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Santa Fé, prepared by Bishop Corrigan; Negro Catholics in the United States, by Rev. Joseph Butsch, S.S.J.; and Early Irish Schoolmasters in New England, by Michael J. O'Brien; and four documents relating to an attempt (1789-1790) to have a separate episcopal see established at Oneida Castle, N. Y., for the Six Nations of Indians.

Articles in the March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are: an account of the third bishop of Harrisburg, Bishop Shanahan, by Monsignor Maurice M. Hassett; the conclusion of Rev. John Lenhart's Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine; the continuation of the late Mr. Griffin's life of Bishop Conwell; and the continuation of Father Peter Helbron's Greensburg (Pa.) Register, 1809-1812.

It is announced that the *Census of Incunabula in America*, which was begun under the direction of Mr. John Thomson of Philadelphia some twenty years ago and has latterly been taken in charge by the Bibliographical Society of America, will probably be printed during the present year by the New York Public Library. The census now consists of about ten thousand titles, with notes of ownership about the year 1900. Inasmuch as nearly all these were in the larger public libraries, only a fraction would be of doubtful location at the present time.

The University of Chicago has brought out *Household Manufactures in the United States of America, 1640-1860: a Study in Industrial History*, by Rolla M. Tryon.

*The Bevier Family: a History of the Descendants of Louis Bevier*, by Katherine Bevier, is a genealogical and biographical record of nine generations of Beviers and related families. Louis Bevier came from France to America in 1675, after a sojourn of ten years in the Palatinate, and settled in New Paltz, N. Y. (Katherine Bevier, 600 West 146th Street, New York).

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

J. R. MacClymont is the author of a study of *Vicente Añes Pinçon* (London, Quaritch, 1916, pp. 82).

In 1906 a Spanish translation of the late Professor Edward G. Bourne's *Spain in America* (1905) was published in Havana. No copy of this having ever come to Chile, Señor Domingo Amunátegui Solar, rector of the University of Chile, has printed under the title *Rejimen Colonial de España en América* (Santiago de Chile, Sociedad "Barcelona", 1916, pp. 117), a translation of the last eight chapters of that

book, Mr. Bourne's general survey of Spanish achievements in the New World.

The *Genealogical Magazine* for March contains further items on American trade, 1628-1633, from the Admiralty records in London, and a letter of Rufus Putnam, 1784, on the northeastern boundary of the United States.

*A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians, including a Synopsis of each Treaty*, by Henry F. De Puy, has been brought out in New York (printed for the Lenox Club). This monograph describes only those treaties that have been printed separately, copies of which are as a rule very rare.

Dr. W. E. Dunn of the University of Texas has published, as no. 1705 of that university's bulletin, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702; the Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola* (pp. 238), an elaborate study based on archival material.

*George Washington's Accounts of Expenses while Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, 1775-1783*, reproduced in facsimile, with annotations by J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, has been issued by Houghton Mifflin Company in an edition of 400 copies.

The Vicomte de Noailles has brought out a new edition of his *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1778-1783* (Paris, Perrin, 1917).

Miss Julia P. Mitchell has completed a painstaking study of *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, published by the Columbia University Press.

*Smith College Studies in History*, II. 3, is a master's thesis by Miss Margaret C. Alexander on the Development of the Power of the State Executive, with special reference to the State of New York.

Dr. W. K. Bixby of St. Louis has brought out a volume of *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson* printed from the originals in his possession. The letters are accompanied with notes by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

In the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s., XIII. 4, Dr. Henry Beets of Grand Rapids has an article on the origins and history of the True Reformed Dutch Church in America, "De Afscheiding van de Gereformeerde Hollandsche Kerk in Noord-Amerika in 1822, in hare Wortelen, Voorloopers, en Leiders".

The Princeton University Press has brought out *The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan*, edited by Professor W. S. Myers.

The Cadmus Book Shop (150 West 34th Street, New York) has issued a reprint of William Miles's *Journal of the Sufferings and Hardships of Capt. Parker H. French's Overland Expedition to California, which left New York City May 13, 1850, and arrived at San Francisco December 14* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1851).

*Abraham Lincoln: Three Addresses*, by President M. W. Stryker, is brought out in Kirkland, N. Y., by the author.

A doctoral thesis by John W. Oliver, published as a bulletin of the University of Wisconsin (History Series, vol. IV., no. 1, pp. 120), pursues with intelligence and with thorough research the *History of the Civil War Military Pensions, 1861-1885*.

*A Historical and Legal Digest of all the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the United States from the Fifty-Seventh to and including the Sixty-Fourth Congress, 1901-1917*, by Merrill Moores, is a continuation of the *Digest* by Chester H. Rowell. The volume includes also the laws relating to the nomination and election of representatives in Congress, with some reference to decided cases (Government Printing Office).

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *A Soldier-Doctor of Our Army: James P. Kimball*, late colonel and assistant surgeon-general, U. S. A. The record of Dr. Kimball's life, prepared by his widow, Maria B. Kimball, covers his services in the Civil War, with the army in the West, and in the Spanish-American War.

Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out a biography of James J. Hill, in two volumes, by J. G. Pyle.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published Lt.-Col. James M. Morgan's *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*, which appeared serially in the *Atlantic Monthly*. It is the record of an eventful life, including well-told experiences in the Confederate navy, in the Egyptian army, in Paris under the Commune, in South Carolina under the carpet-baggers, in Mexico, and in Australia as consul-general.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

A number of King's Chapel lectures delivered in Boston in 1915 and 1916 have been collected under the title *The Religious History of New England*. Among the contributors are Professors J. Winthrop Platner, G. E. Horr, William W. Fenn, and Rufus M. Jones.

Hon. James Phinney Baxter, of Portland, Maine, president of the Maine Historical Society, has in preparation for the Gorges Society a volume entitled *Samuel Moody, the Rebuilder of Portland*. Maj. Samuel Moody, prominent in the Indian wars and commander of the fort at New Casco or Falmouth, was the leader in the re-establishment of the scattered colonists at that place, now called Portland. Orders for the work should be addressed to the Maine Historical Society, Portland. The edition will be limited.

*A Bibliography of Piscataquis County, Maine*, compiled by J. F. Sprague, is brought out in Dover by the *Observer* Publishing Company.

An interesting brochure on *The Tories of New Hampshire*, by Otis G. Hammond, superintendent of the New Hampshire Historical Society, has been published by the society.

The February-March serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* contains a journal, kept by Jeremiah Fitch, of a visit to Saratoga Springs, N. Y., in 1820 (from Boston and return), and some letters of Charles Eliot Norton, 1864. The April issue contains a paper by Mr. Samuel E. Morison on the Vote of Massachusetts on Summoning a Constitutional Convention, 1776-1916, and a series of letters, especially interesting at the present time, written to Charles Sumner, in 1845, respecting his celebrated oration of July 4 of that year, on "The True Grandeur of Nations". The same society has in press a volume of Warren-Adams Letters (vol. LXXII. of its *Collections*) and expects also to issue, within a year, a volume of the papers of Jasper Mauduit and one of papers respecting Sir William Phips's search for treasure. The Society's reproduction of the *Boston News-Letter*, in seventeen photostat sets, has been extended through the year 1722, and within a year will cover nine more years, thus placing in seventeen libraries every known issue, through 1731, of this earliest of English-American newspapers.

The American Antiquarian Society has recently received from Mr. Richard W. Greene two orderly-books connected with brigades commanded by Gen. Nathanael Greene. One is an orderly-book of the regiment commanded by Col. James M. Varnum and contains both the general orders and brigade orders, April 22 to July 8, 1776. The other is the orderly-book kept by Capt. Samuel Ward, jr., containing General Greene's orders for the period June 28 to July 30, and August 17 to September 2, 1775.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* of January contains an article by F. A. Gardner concerning Col. David Brewer's Regiment (Revolution).

The principal article in the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is by W. S. Nevins, concerning Nathaniel Hawthorne's Removal from the Salem Custom House. Francis B. C. Bradley's papers on the Eastern Railroad are continued, as are also the newspaper items relating to Essex County, Mass.

The Essex Institute has published volume I. (1916, pp. 536), of *Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the end of 1849*. The series will embrace births, marriages, and deaths; the present volume covers births from A to L. The book, which is extraordinarily complete, presents all accessible entries in records kept by the town clerk, in church records, in those of the quarterly court, in cemetery inscriptions, private records in family Bibles, etc.

*An Old New England School: a History of Phillips Academy, Andover*, by C. M. Fuess, prepared under the authorization of the

trustees, besides relating the history of the institution from its founding in the time of the Revolution, contains accounts of the more distinguished alumni (Houghton Mifflin Company).

A *History of Williams College*, by Professor Leverett W. Spring, will be brought out shortly by Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has acquired the official records and papers of the Bristol (R. I.) custom house, covering a period of about one hundred years; and the papers of Jeremiah Olney, about six hundred manuscripts pertaining to Rhode Island during the Revolutionary period. Included in the latter were five letters of Washington. The society is compiling a list of *Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in the Colonial Wars*, with an account of their individual services.

The Connecticut Historical Society has brought out *The Wolcott Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Roger Wolcott's Governorship of Connecticut, 1750-1754*, with some of an earlier date (pp. xxxv, 557), constituting volume XVI. of the society's *Collections*. The documents of an earlier date are papers (1727-1750) of Governor Jonathan Law, and are contained in an appendix (pp. 449-524). There is a sketch of the life of Roger Wolcott, as well as an introduction to the volume, by the editor, Mr. Albert C. Bates.

*The Coming of Yale College to New Haven*, the historical address delivered by Professor Williston Walker in October, 1916, has been issued by the Yale University Press.

Catharine M. North's *History of Berlin, Connecticut*, has been rearranged and edited with a preface by A. B. Benson (New Haven, Tuttle).

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The director of the division of archives and history of the state of New York is urging historical societies, local public officials, librarians, and high school teachers of the state to collect and preserve all material in their respective localities which has to do with local activities brought on by the war. The director has recently presented to the state library a collection of manuscripts relating to the French spoliation claims.

The division of history of the University of the State of New York has issued vol. VII. of the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, prepared by Dr. E. T. Corwin, an index to the series.

*The Perry's Victory Centenary: Report of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commission State of New York* (pp. ix, 209), compiled by George D. Emerson, contains an elaborate record of the chain of celebrations in 1913 of the Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. Among the numerous addresses made in connection with the celebration those of particular historical interest were by Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, Hon. John M. Whitehead of Wisconsin, and Dr. James A. MacDonald of

Toronto, Canada. Dr. MacDonald's address, delivered September 10, 1913, was entitled "America's Message to the Nations". In the light of the events of nearly four years that have elapsed since its delivery the address has peculiar significance. Included in the volume are an account of the battle, by Frank H. Severance, George Bancroft's account, a dissertation on the battle by Henry Watterson, the letter of William V. Taylor, sailing master of the *Lawrence*, written October 17, 1813, the official report of Capt. Robert H. Barclay, British commander, and Commodore Perry's official reports, despatches, and letters. There are seventy-three illustrations, including several pictures of the restored *Niagara*; also a portrait of Captain Barclay.

The first number (April) of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* has appeared. The announced purpose of the publication is to present from time to time in illustrated articles the attractive features of the library, art gallery, and museum, extracts from the society's proceedings, lists of accessions to its collections, and articles of historical interest. Original documents presented in this number are: a letter from Washington to Dr. John Cochran, August 16, 1779, given also in facsimile; and a List of Farms on New York Island, 1780, from a note-book of Evert Bancker, surveyor in New York. Mr. A. J. Wohlhagen gives an account of the spurious *Ulster County Gazette* of January 4, 1800. Mr. Harris H. Johnston has placed at the disposal of the society the letters and papers of his great-grandfather, John Pintard, comprising in particular letters written by Pintard to his daughter in New Orleans, 1811-1830. These letters and papers will be edited for the society by Mr. Johnston and published in the society's *Collections*.

The *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, XXIV. 3, has an article on the seal and flag of New York City, by Mr. C. de Waard, and some notes on the archives of the *Deputati ad res Indicas* of the classis of Walcheren.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April contains a frontispiece portrait of Horace White and a sketch of his life by Miss Amelia E. White.

The April *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library continues Mr. Lydenberg's history of that institution, the present installment giving the story of the New York Free Circulating Library.

The Buffalo Historical Society proposes to publish the Journals and other writings of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Indians and founder of Hamilton College, and will count it a favor if librarians or other custodians knowing of Kirkland manuscripts will communicate with the secretary of the society.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is occupied with an address by Hon. Hampton L. Carson on



the life and services of Samuel W. Pennypacker; to which are appended certain of Governor Pennypacker's messages of approval and disapproval of bills, and also a bibliography of his writings. The April and July numbers contain installments of the journal of Samuel R. Fisher of Philadelphia (1779-1781), contributed by Anna Wharton Morris, and an installment of the Orderly-Book of General Edward Hand, Valley Forge, 1778. Among the sundry letters which appear in the section of Notes and Queries are a letter of Robert Anderson, the defender of Fort Sumter, to Benjamin Drake, November 8, 1839, relative to the death of Tecumseh, and also one from Aedanus Burke to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, written from Yorktown, Va., October 28, 1781.

The *Year Book* of the Pennsylvania Society for 1917 (New York, the Society, pp. 280), edited by Mr. Barr Ferree, contains, besides the society's proceedings and reports, a record of anniversaries, memorials, and foundations in each county for the year 1916.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

It is understood that Professor W. K. Boyd of Trinity College (Durham, N. C.) and Professor R. P. Brooks of the University of Georgia are engaged in the preparation of a syllabus of Southern history.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a list of taxables in Baltimore County, anno 1699; some account of the second regiment of Maryland volunteer infantry; and continuations of the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County and of the Carroll Papers.

The *National Genealogical Quarterly* for April includes lists of patriots of Montgomery County and of Washington County who took the oath of fidelity and support, March, 1778; and lists of civil officers of Montgomery County who took the oath, 1780-1782.

*Confederate Literature: a List of Books and Newspapers, Maps, Music, and Miscellaneous Matter Printed in the South during the Confederacy, now in the Boston Athenaeum*, prepared by C. N. Baxter and J. M. Dearborn, with an introduction by James Ford Rhodes, is brought out in Boston by the Athenaeum.

*Conscription in the Confederate States of America, 1862-1865*, by R. P. Brooks, is issued as a *Bulletin* of the University of Georgia.

The *Thirteenth Annual Report* of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library, 1915-1916, has come from the press. Bound with it is a *List of the Colonial Soldiers of Virginia*, with an extended preface, being a special report of the department of archives and history for 1913, by H. J. Eckenrode, archivist.

The contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine* of

*History and Biography* include, besides continued series hitherto mentioned, some Revolutionary pension declarations and the expense account at Eton, 1762-1764, of Alexander and John Spotswood, sons of Col. John Spotswood of Spotsylvania, Va. This number of the *Magazine* includes also the Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society in the annual meeting held March 17, 1917, the principal content of which is the president's annual report. This report, far from being one of the formal sort, surveys the society's activities during the preceding year and the contents of the *Magazine*, and presents intimate personal sketches of some of the deceased members of the society.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* continues the Letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A. The *Magazine* also prints some papers (1788-1834) from the college archives pertaining to phases of the history of the college.

*The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution*, by James Miller Leake, Ph.D., is a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*.

Four papers comprise the contents of the *Richmond College Historical Papers*, vol. II., no. 1 (June). They are: Nathaniel Beverley Tucker: his Writings and Political Theories, with a Sketch of his Life, by Maude H. Woodfin; Taxation in Virginia during the Revolution, by Louise A. Reams; William Grayson: a Study in Virginia Biography of the Eighteenth Century, by Weston Bristow; and the Letters (1757-1789) of William Allason, merchant of Falmouth, Virginia, by the editor, Professor D. R. Anderson.

Mr. A. J. Morrison of Hampden-Sidney College has brought out (Roanoke, Stone) a pamphlet of 55 pages containing *Six Addresses on the State of Letters and Science in Virginia*, delivered at Hampden-Sidney College, 1824 to 1835. The authors of these addresses, portraits of whom are included, were Jonathan P. Cushing, John H. Rice, William Maxwell, Jesse B. Harrison, James M. Garnett, and Lucian Minor.

The January number of the *North Carolina Booklet* includes, besides the proceedings (October, 1916) of the North Carolina Society, of the Daughters of the Revolution, a paper on Isaac Shelby, by Archibald Henderson; one on the North Carolina Medical Society of 1799-1804, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; and an account of the Old Cemetery at Charlotte, by Violet G. Alexander.

The January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains the sixteenth of Judge Henry A. M. Smith's studies of the Baronies of South Carolina, the present article being Quenby and the Eastern Branch of Cooper River. In the series of letters of John Rutledge, edited by Joseph W. Barnwell, two are printed in this number, dated November 26 and December 8, 1780. W. E. Dunn con-

tributes an interesting letter written from Saint Augustine, December 12, 1672, by Joseph Baily, who had been sent to Saint Augustine in 1670 to demand the release of some Englishmen and had himself been imprisoned. Miss Mabel L. Webber contributes some marriage and death notices from the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* (1783), which will be continued.

*A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, in six volumes, by Lucian L. Knight, has been brought out by the Lewis Publishing Company.

#### WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its tenth annual meeting at Chicago April 26, 27, and 28. The address of the president, Professor Frederic L. Paxson, was on "The Rise of Sports, 1876-1893". Other papers were: the Value of the Memoir of George Rogers Clark as an Historical Document, by James A. James; the Coming of the Circuit Rider across the Mountains, by W. W. Sweet; Glimpses of some Old Mississippi River Posts, by Louis Pelzer; the Military-Indian Frontier, 1830-1835, by Miss Ruth Gallaher; the Trading Companies in the Northwest, 1763-1816, by W. R. Stevens; the Collapse of the Confederacy: an Analysis of Certain Internal Causes, by Lawrence H. Gipson; the Pioneer Aristocracy, by Logan Esarey; Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work, by F. F. Holbrook; Latin-American History as a Field of Study for Mississippi Valley Students, by Paul F. Peck; Nauvoo, a Possible Study in Economic Determinism, by T. C. Pease, the Influence of the West on the Rise and Decline of Political Parties, by H. C. Hockett; President Lincoln and the Illinois Radical Republicans, by A. C. Cole; and the Formation of the American Colonization Society, by H. N. Sherwood. There was a session on historical pageantry, and a joint meeting with the history teachers of Cook County, in which the subject of the history course in high schools was discussed.

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains an article by R. S. Cotterill on Southern Railroads and Western Trade; one by Roy Gittinger on the Separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian Territory; one by Jane M. Berry on the Indian Policy of Spain in the Southwest, 1783-1795; and a survey of Recent Historical Activities in the South and Trans-Mississippi Southwest, by Donald L. McMurtry. In the section of Notes and Documents is a brief account by Milledge L. Bonham, jr., of the first council of the American city of Baton Rouge, and one by Archibald Henderson on the state of affairs at Post St. Vincent in the summer of 1786. An extra number (April) includes, besides the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at the meeting held at Nashville April 27-29, 1916, the address of Dr. Dunbar Rowland entitled the Mississippi Valley in American History; and the following articles:

Religion as a Factor in the Early Development of Ohio, by Margaret J. Mitchell; New Light on Early Kentucky, by James R. Robertson; the Dutch Element in Early Kentucky, by Percy S. Flippin; Internal Improvement Projects in Texas in the Fifties, by Charles W. Ramsdell; Representation and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina, by Chauncey S. Boucher; the Early Life of Jefferson Davis, by Walter L. Fleming; the Veto Power in Ohio, by R. C. McGrane; the Present Situation in Mexico, by G. B. Winton; and a Further Definition of the American History Course in High Schools, by J. L. Kingsbury.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has come into possession of an important body of papers of General Braxton Bragg, covering practically the whole of the operations of the Confederate army under his command. Among these papers are four letter-books, March 10, 1861, to August 16, 1862; January 1 to August 20, 1863; September 8 to November 30, 1863; December 26, 1864, to April 10, 1865, containing correspondence, orders, proclamations, reports, rosters of officers, etc. Other noteworthy items are: a diary of the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns for 1862-1863, kept by Captain Stoddard Johnson, one of Bragg's aides-de-camp; more than two hundred letters from prominent commanders; and a large number of Confederate newspapers. The letter-books contain more than 4000 pieces; the separate items aggregate some 2000 pieces. The society has received a considerable quantity of other Civil War material, and also a number of records, letters, etc., pertaining to the early history of Ohio, the War of 1812, and a body of twenty-two letters and documents pertaining to the Blennerhassett-Burr affair. Particularly noteworthy is a collection of material relating to early Cleveland, presented by Mr. Allen Severance.

The *Annual Report* of the Western Reserve Historical Society for 1915-1916 has joined with it *The Connecticut Land Company and Accompanying Papers*, by Claude L. Shepard. The study itself occupies only 23 pages; the documents accompanying it, twenty in number, fill 115 pages. The documents are for the most part of a legal sort but there are also some letters, which relate particularly to the later phases of the company's career.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is occupied entirely with a series of letters of Thomas Boylston Adams, youngest son of President John Adams. The first of these letters, April 8, 1795, is to William Cranch; the others, twenty-two in number (1796-1801), are to Joseph Pitcairn. Adams accompanied his brother, John Quincy Adams, to the Hague, when the latter was made minister to Holland in 1794, and to Berlin when he became minister to Prussia in 1797. In December, 1798, he returned to Philadelphia, where he had previously begun the practice of law. The earlier letters are of interest for their

first-hand view of European affairs, and the later ones chiefly for their light on domestic politics.

The principal article in the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is a study of Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824, by Eugene H. Roseboom. There are two archaeological articles, one by William C. Mills concerning Explorations of the West-haver Mound, and one by C. W. Clark on the Mound Builder and the Indian.

The principal articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are a study of Universalism in Indiana, by Rev. Elmo A. Robinson; an account of Old Corydon, the first capital of Indiana, by Charles Moores; some Reminiscences of the Civil War: Escape from Fort Tyler Prison, by Horace B. Little; and a paper on Tecumseh's Confederacy, by Elmore Barce. Those in the June number are Pioneer Politics in Indiana, by Logan Esarey; a sketch, by Blanche G. Garber, of Colonel John Paul, Hoosier Pioneer, founder of Xenia, Ohio, and Madison, Indiana; and the conclusion of Elmo A. Robinson's study of Universalism in Indiana.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1916, contains a paper, by O. W. Aldrich, on Slavery or Involuntary Servitude in Illinois prior to and after its Admission as a State; one by Rev. Ira W. Allen on Early Presbyterianism in East Central Illinois; a biographical sketch, by E. A. Snively, of James M. Davidson (1828-1894), an Illinois editor; and the story of Mary Spears, an Indian captive, reprinted from *Putnam's Magazine*, March, 1853. The October number includes an article by N. H. Debel on the Development of the Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois; one by Charles A. Kent entitled Lincoln and Gettysburg after Fifty Years, November 19, 1863-1913; and a number of briefer articles.

R. S. Cotterill has written a *Pioneer History of Kentucky*, which has been published in Cincinnati by Johnson and Hardin.

*Letters on the Condition of Kentucky in 1825*, edited by Earl G. Swem, has been issued by Charles F. Heartman in *Heartman's Historical Series* (no. 2).

Mr. A. E. Martin of the Pennsylvania State College has completed a study of *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky to 1850*, which, it is understood, the Filson Club will bring out in the summer or early autumn. The author expects to continue the study for the succeeding period, 1850-1870, the results of which will be published in a second volume.

The January number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains an article by A. C. Quisenberry on Kentucky's "Neutrality" in 1861.

*Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies: Authentic History of the World Renowned Vendettas of the Dark and Bloody Ground*, by C. G. Mutzenberg, is said to be the result of twenty years of investigation.

The March number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains the first part of a paper by Professor St. George L. Sioussat entitled *Memphis as a Gateway to the West: a Study in the Beginnings of Railway Transportation in the Old Southwest*. Another study begun in this number is an investigation, by W. A. Provine, into the history of Lardner Clark, Nashville's First Merchant and Foremost Citizen. The documents in this number are letters of James K. Polk to Andrew J. Donelson, 1843-1848. The letters of 1843 and 1844 are concerned principally with Polk's candidacy for the vice-presidency and the campaign of 1844; those of 1845 were written to Donelson as American chargé to Texas and relate chiefly to the Texas question; and those of 1846-1848 have to do with the mission to Prussia to which Donelson was appointed in March, 1846.

*A Century of Maryville College, 1819-1919: a Story of Altruism*, by Samuel Tyndale Wilson, is published by the college (Maryville, Tennessee). Dr. Wilson anticipates the completion of the century of the life of the college by setting forth something of its plans for the future.

The *Fourth Annual Report* (1916) of the Michigan Historical Commission has appeared. Among the activities of the commission is an effort to develop among pioneer societies a systematic collection of historical materials, and the organization of new societies in counties where none now exist.

The third number of Mr. C. M. Burton's series of pamphlets entitled *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection*, edited by Miss M. Agnes Burton, contains a memorial of Thomas Hutchins the younger to the United States Senate, praying compensation for the sufferings and services of his late father the geographer general, and giving some account of the latter's life; but is mainly occupied with interesting documents on early Indiana history, 1805-1806, connected with the administration of William H. Harrison and derived from the archives of the War Department in Washington.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* for November (vol. I., no. 8) contains but one body article, Capt. Theodore E. Potter's *Recollections of Minnesota Experiences*. These recollections cover the period from 1852 to 1876, with brief reference to events of later years. Annotations upon the narrative, which occupies slightly more than one hundred pages of the *Bulletin*, are supplied by Miss Franc M. Potter of the society's staff. The *Bulletin* for February includes appreciative sketches of two Minnesota historians, Capt. Henry A. Castle and Return Ira Holcombe. The sketches are by Gideon S. Ives and Warren Upham, respectively. The section of Notes and Documents includes

a Lawyer's View of the Kensington Rune Stone, by Charles G. Willson; an Address, September 9, 1912, from the Pioneers of Rupert's Land to Dr. J. E. Jones, the American consul-general at Winnipeg, touching the relations between the United States and western Canada in the fifties and sixties; and a note on the Genesis of the Republican Party in Minnesota, accompanied by a number of documents. The May number of the *Bulletin* contains an article by Professor Carl Becker entitled the Historical Background of American Participation in the War, and one by F. F. Holbrook, field agent of the Minnesota Historical Society, on Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work. It is expected that the society's new building will be ready for occupancy in October.

*A History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1864*, is published at Stillwater by Easton and Masterman.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April contains two extended articles: a study of the Executive Veto in Iowa, by Jacob A. Swisher; and a translation of the History and Constitution of the Icarian Community (Paris, 1855), written by Étienne Cabet, the founder of the community.

*A History of Adair County, Iowa*, in two volumes, edited by L. M. Kilburn, is published in Greenfield, Iowa, by the author.

Mr. Duane Mowry contributes to the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* a number of letters to Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin written (1859-1872) by Edward Bates, Frank P. Blair, sr., Frank P. Blair, jr., and Montgomery Blair. This number of the *Review* also contains the third of Mr. David W. Eaton's papers on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were Named, and the proceedings of the Kansas City Convention, November 24-25, 1916, a preliminary to Missouri's centennial celebration.

The *Twentieth Biennial Report* (1914-1916) of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society includes the proceedings of the fortieth and forty-first annual meetings (1915 and 1916) and a history of the newspapers and magazines published in Kansas from the organization of the territory in 1854 to January 1, 1916.

The February number of the *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* contains two brief articles: What should History mean to the High School Teacher? by Frederic Duncalf, and How can the Results of History Teaching be best tested? by E. D. Criddle. In the May number Milton R. Gutsch discusses the Field of Instruction in Elementary History. Professor Eugene C. Barker's Source Readings in Texas History are continued through both numbers.

The contents of the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* include four chapters of a study, by A. K. Christian, of the



Tariff History of the Republic of Texas; the second installment of the paper, by H. R. Edwards, on the Diplomatic Relations between France and the Republic of Texas; a sketch, by Rosa Groce Bertleth, of the life of Colonel J. E. Groce (1782-1836), a prominent Texas pioneer; and Recollections of Stephen F. Austin, written by George L. Ham-meken in 1844.

*A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, by F. C. Pierce, is brought out in Menasha, Wisconsin, by the G. Banta Publishing Company.

*North Dakota, History and People: Outlines of American History*, in three volumes, by C. A. Lounsberry, is published by S. J. Clarke.

*Arizona, Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern: the Nation's Youngest Commonwealth within a Land of Ancient Culture*, three volumes, by J. H. McClintock, is from the press of S. J. Clarke.

The April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains some Pioneer Reminiscences of Thomas B. Beall; an article on Washington Forts of the Fur Trade Régime, by O. B. Sperlin; Chief Sluskin's True Narrative (an account of his guiding two men to the "White Mountain"), prepared by L. V. McWhorter; a letter of William Pickering, governor of Washington Territory, July 26, 1862; and Early Records of the University, contributed by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

The issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December contains a short account, by Socrates Scholfield, of the Klamath Exploring Expedition, 1850, an expedition in search for gold on what was supposed to be the Klamath River; the Reminiscences of Mrs. Martha E. Gilliam Collins, prepared by Fred Lockley; some notes by T. C. Elliott relative to the Last Will and Testament of John Day, a member of the overland party of the Pacific Fur Company; some letters of Elihu Wright, a sailor on a whaling cruise, to his brother in Connecticut; and continuations of the diaries of Rev. Jason Lee and Rev. Ezra Fisher.

Recent accessions to the Bancroft Library in the University of California comprise about 5000 pages of documentary material relating to the occupation of Lower California and to the activities of the civil and religious authorities in the advance northward from Mexico toward California; some thousands of pages bearing upon the powers of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratación; and some thousands more relating to Florida, Texas, and New Mexico. The accessions to the library since 1911 are roughly classified as follows: 8000 pages of material bearing specifically upon the history of California; 5000 pages relating indirectly to California; 8000 pages of "Provincias Internas" transcripts (including about 1000 pages relating to Louisiana, Florida, and Virginia); and 10,000 pages relating to commerce in the Pacific, the Philippines, Spanish colonial policy, and kindred topics. These transcripts come chiefly from Spanish and Mexican archives.

Professor Charles E. Chapman has prepared for publication, and is now sending to the press (University of California), a *Catalogue of certain Materials in the Archivo General de Indias, relating to the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*. The work will consist of two volumes. It will catalogue more than 6000 selected documents, and will give a detailed description of some 200 legajos in those sections of the archive called Papeles de Estado, Audiencia de Mexico, and Audiencia de Guadalajara.

## PHILIPPINES

Appleton has published a work by Conrado Benitez and Austin Craig bearing the extended title *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes: the Pre-Spanish History, the Spanish Occupation, the Beginnings of Philippine Nationalism, and 333 Years of Struggle for Liberty*.

## AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The January-February number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Havana) continues the bibliographical notes concerning Cuban periodicals, presenting in this issue a history of the transmutations of the periodical founded in 1813 with the simple name *Noticioso*, but experiencing a complete transformation of name in 1844. Nineteen facsimiles accompany the notes. The other principal articles are also continuations. The March-April number of the *Boletín* contains some additional remarks concerning the periodical *Lucero de la Habana* and its successors, and an extended bibliographical account of the *Memorias de la Real Sociedad Económica de la Habana* (with varying title), accompanied by facsimiles of eleven successive title-pages, 1793-1901.

*The Mexican Constitution of 1917 compared with the Constitution of 1857* has been issued as a Supplement to the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

*British Exploits in South America: a History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade in Latin-America*, by W. H. Koebel, gives an account of the English navigators and buccaneers on the Spanish Main, describes the work of the English and Irish Jesuits in the Spanish colonies, the British voyages of exploration in the eighteenth century, Britain's part in the development of British Guiana, the Falkland Islands, and Brazil, and the early relations of England with the Latin-American republics (Century Company).

All who are interested in the relations between the historical students of the United States and those of South America will find many things to interest them in a pamphlet published at Berkeley, California, by the Lederer, Street, and Zeus Company, entitled *A Californian in South America*. It is an official report of the visit of Professor Charles E.

Chapman, as representative of the University of California, upon occasion of the American Congress of Bibliography and History held at Buenos Aires in July, 1916, accompanied by interesting appendixes.

A volume on *La Federación en Colombia, 1810-1812* (Madrid, Reus, 1916, pp. 325) has been written by I. de La Vega.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. M. Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi, in Georgia, to Cosa, in Alabama* (American Anthropologist, January-March); H. P. Biggar, *Jean Ribault's Discoverie of Terra Florida* (English Historical Review, April); J. F. V. Silva, *Elogio de Vaca de Castro por Antonio de Herrera* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January); J. S. Davis, *Charters for American Business Corporations in the Eighteenth Century* (Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association, December); A. M. Schlesinger, *The Uprising against the East India Company* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Rear-Admiral C. F. Goodrich, U. S. N., *Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates* [cont.] (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March, April, May); W. J. Aylward, *The Clipper-Ship and her Seamen* (Scribner's Magazine, April); E. C. Barker, *California as the Cause of the Mexican War* (Texas Review, January); J. E. Winston, *Robert J. Walker, Annexationist* (*ibid.*, April); R. S. Cotterill, *The Telegraph in the South, 1845-1850* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Lady Macdonnell, *America Then and Now: Recollections of Lincoln* (Contemporary Review, May); Maj.-Gen. I. R. Trimble, C. S. A., *The Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg* (Confederate Veteran, May); H. H. Hagan, *The United States vs. Jefferson Davis* (Sewanee Review, April); Capt. F. H. Pulsifer, U. S. Coast Guard, retired, *Reminiscences of the Harriet Lane* (Journal of the United States Coast Guard Association, January-March); F. Portusach, *History of the Capture of Guam by the United States Man-of-War Charleston and its Transport* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); F. Iznaga, *Ecos del Tratado de Paris [1898]: la Deuda Colonial* (Cuba Contemporánea, March); J. M. Leake, *Four Years of Congress [1913-1917]* (American Political Science Review, May); A. Gauvain, *Les Initiatives du Président Wilson* (Revue de Paris, March 1).

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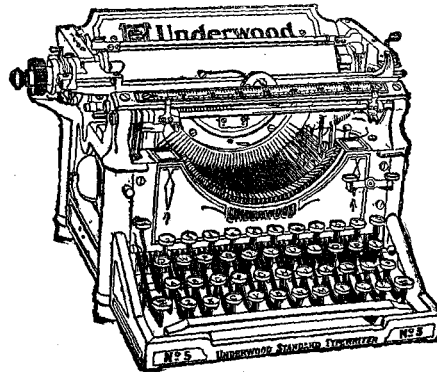
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